D. N. Aidit

SET AFIRE THE *BANTENG* SPIRIT! EVER FORWARD, NO RETREAT!

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

166-19

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DARE, DARE, AND DARE AGAIN!

Political report presented on February 10, 1963, to the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia

D. N. Aidit

THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA

This pamphlet consists of three reports made by the author during his visit to China in 1963

Published by
FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
Peking (37), China

Distributed by
GUOZI SHUDIAN
China Publications Centre
P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

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SET AFIRE THE *BANTENG* SPIRIT! EVER FORWARD, NO RETREAT!

Political Report
to the Second Plenum of
the Seventh Central Committee of
the Communist Party of Indonesia, Enlarged with the
Members of the Central Auditing Commission
and the Central Control Commission

(Djakarta, 23rd-26th December, 1963)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1964

迪·努·艾地

激发雄牛精神！坚决前进，决不后退！

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外文出版社出版（北京）
1964年第一版
编号：（英）3050—963
00074
3—E—589P

Printed in the People's Republic of China

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Dear Comrades!

Ten months have passed since the First Plenum (February, 1963) of the Seventh National Congress (April, 1962) Central Committee of our Party.

During these 10 months the Indonesian working people with our Party in the foremost ranks, have waged a tremendous struggle under the slogan of the First Plenum of the Central Committee: *Daring, Daring, Once Again Daring!* which has been the source of great inspiration and mobilisation.

Our Party together with President Sukarno has succeeded in setting afire a spirit of daring among the broad masses of the Indonesian people. The year 1963 did indeed become a "year of daring", and once daring has been aroused and has become the possession of the people, it will certainly sweep aside all barriers and obstacles.

For revolutionaries, in particular for Communists, their place is in the foremost ranks of the masses whose political consciousness and daring is continually surging upwards. If they fail to take their place in the foremost ranks, they cease to be revolutionaries, they become useless or become an obstacle to the revolutionary mass movement.

Under the slogan, *Daring, Daring, Once Again Daring!* the members of our Party have undertaken tremendous activities and in the course of doing this, the ideological, political and organisational unanimity of our Party and the revolutionary mass organisations has been further

steeled, with the result that our Party and our mass organisations have got into their stride with great gusto, have swung their arms and aimed their fists against the enemies of the people with ever greater freedom.

Thanks to the spirit of daring that has developed, we have also raised ever higher the Triple Banner of the Nation: *the banner of Democracy, the banner of Unity and the banner of Mobilisation.* The heroic struggle of the people and the members of our Party resulted in the liberation of West Irian and the lifting of the strongly-condemned state of emergency (SOB) on 1st May, 1963, it has brought about some slight improvement in democratic conditions, and national unity as well as the mobilisation of the masses in crushing the enemies of the people and in defence of their vital interests has further developed. The efforts of the reactionaries to create a situation of "SOB without SOB" and to reintroduce the SOB met with the powerful resistance of the masses who have already got a taste of democracy again. The reactionaries will, it is certain, continue these efforts of theirs, as they did when they launched the "10th May" racialist movement earlier this year, but it is certain, too, that the resistance of the people will also be much more powerful than ever before.

Thanks to the spirit of daring that has inspired our entire ranks, we have also raised ever higher the Triple Banner of the Party: *the banner of united front, the banner of building the Party and the banner of the August 1945 Revolution.* Today the National Front organisation has grown broader and Nasakom[1] co-operation has

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[1] *Nasakom*: the expression denoting unity of the three main political trends in Indonesian society — NAS = nationalists; A = religious groups; and KOM=Communists.

in general further improved. The alliance of workers and peasants as the basis of the National Front has become more consolidated. The integration of citizens of foreign extraction with the revolutionary movement, in particular those of Chinese extraction, is now rapidly under way. The revolutionary peasant movement has made most heartening progress.

Efforts to intensify the building of the Party are marked by the success of the "final-spurt" movement of the Second Three-Year Plan, and it can now be definitely ascertained that the "flying-start" movement of the Four-Year Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation is also running well. The combination between a burning spirit of daring and persevering work in implementation of the Plan has been the primary factor in pushing forward the building of our Party, in altering the internal balance of forces, and in our endeavours to take part in holding high the Marxist-Leninist banner of the international Communist movement.

The burning fervour of the August 1945 Revolution is beginning to be felt again, and the value of the lessons of that revolution, in particular the lesson about the decisive role of the peasants in the revolution, is now being felt more and more.

The conclusion drawn by the First Plenum of the CC to the effect that US imperialism is the number one enemy and the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people has been confirmed and strengthened by events that have taken place during the past ten months. The fact that the US Seventh Fleet has expanded its operational area to the Indonesian Ocean is further testimony of the correctness of this conclusion.

Thanks to the intensifying spirit of daring, the Indonesian people have come to the unanimous resolve to crush so-called "Malaysia" completely, to pursue a policy of confrontation in all fields against this project of moribund imperialism. The fact that the Indonesian people are now waging a struggle to crush "Malaysia" is proof that the Indonesian people, besides being conscious of the fact that their number one and most dangerous enemy is United States imperialism, do not for a moment relax their vigilance against other imperialists. In the campaign to crush "Malaysia" we are face to face with British imperialism which is supported by the USA. This fact also proves that as long as there are imperialists around Indonesia, the resolve must continue to be: *a rifle in one hand and a hoe in the other*. We must always be ready to strike back with arms against the armed attacks launched by the enemy and at the same time be ready to work ourselves to the bone so as to stand on our own two feet and solve the economic difficulties, especially food and clothing.

Last month, the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) were held with great success. Without a spirit of daring on the part of the Indonesian people and Government in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, it would not have been possible for the GANEFO to be successful. The success of GANEFO proves once again the absolute superiority of the New Emerging Forces (NEFO) over the Old Established Forces (OLDEFO), the absolute superiority of the forces of anti-imperialist over imperialism and its agents; it proves that the East wind is blowing much more powerfully than the West wind, that the East wind has indeed prevailed over the West wind. We refer to East and West not in a geo-

graphical or meteorological sense but in a lofty political sense.

At the First Plenum of the CC we defined the practical Triple Task of the Party as follows: 1) consolidate the victories; 2) tackle the economic difficulties; and 3) oppose neo-colonialism. These tasks still apply. The victories that have been scored such as the liberation of West Irian, the continuously improving restoration of law and order, the beginning made in restoring democratic rights, the severance of economic ties with Malaya and Singapore, the GANEFO, the strengthening feeling of international solidarity among the people, the continued development of the National Front and Nasakom co-operation, the success of the demand for the annulment of the "26th May, 1963" regulations the failure of which has now been recognised by the Government, the growing demand for the formation of a Gotong Royong[1] Cabinet with Nasakom as the core, the building of the Party, the building of the mass organisations, etc., etc., must all be consolidated. The economic difficulties must continuously be tackled, especially food and clothing, and more especially food. We must continue to struggle against neo-colonialism, especially "Malaysia" as well as political, economic and cultural infiltrations by the imperialists headed by the United States of America.

The task of dealing with the economic difficulties, of continuing the struggle against "Malaysia" and all forms of imperialist infiltrations and intrigue can only be implemented well if all the forces of the people are mobilised to the maximum. The key to this is the existence

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[1] *Gotong Royong*: all forces working together for a common objective. The term today denotes the unity of the Indonesian people in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism.

of broader democratic rights for the people. Anti-democratic and anti-people's actions, such as measures to make it more difficult to implement Presidential Regulation No. 5, 1963[1] are a reflection of the fact that survivals of communist-phobia, Nasakom-phobia, people-phobia and the like still afflict part of the State apparatus and must be opposed. This needs to be stressed because such practices in certain regions are very detrimental indeed to the implementation of the "social support" and "social control" that the Government hopes for.

Based on implementing the practical Triple Task, we can support the new programme of the Kerdja Cabinet[2] recently presented to the Gotong Royong Parliament by the First Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Subandrio, which is as follows: (1) food and clothing; (2) crush "Malaysia"; and (3) continue with construction. This programme of the Kerdja Cabinet is in conformity with our Party's practical Triple Task.

Implementing the new programme of the Kerdja Cabinet means implementing the main parts of the Party's practical Triple Task and implementing the main parts of the Five-Point Programme of the National Front. But all this can only be implemented if the decisions adopted by the Central Executive of the National Front at its session on 5th-6th September, 1963, are implemented, the core of which is: *put an end to the "26th May, 1963" deviation by consistently implementing the Economic Declaration (Dekon) and form a Gotong Royong Cabinet*

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[1] This regulation deals with political party activities.

[2] The present cabinet which has been in power since 1959, but which underwent certain changes in composition in November 1963, is called the Kerdja Cabinet or Work Cabinet.

with Nasakom as the core. With particular reference to food and clothing this also demands the *consistent implementation of land reform* and not what has been happening so far.

In the context of consolidating the victories that have already been scored, it is very necessary to stress the question of consolidating law and order, particularly in view of the fact that the present economic difficulties have already been utilised and will continue to be utilised by the counter-revolutionaries to bring armed gangs into being once again, at first taking the form of criminal activities but then developing into counter-revolutionary political gangs. The imperialists would certainly like to reap more fruit from the "26th May, 1963" regulations within the framework of US imperialist policy being effected through the International Monetary Fund (IMF). They have already been able to reap some fruit from these regulations, namely the continuing deterioration of the economic situation in Indonesia. They are waiting to reap more, that is, the emergence of armed counter-revolutionary political gangs. This is the reason why the problem of food and clothing is the problem of law and order, and the problem of law and order is the problem of food and clothing. This problem of food and clothing is the key to the implementation of the Government's programme to crush "Malaysia" and to continue with construction.

The First Plenum of the CC stated regarding consolidation of law and order, that the progressives, in particular the Communists, must consider the question of law and order as their own question. It was in line with this that, following the lifting of the state of emergency, the Party raised the slogan, "For the Maintenance of

Civil Order, Help the Police". With the help of this slogan, the co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force, has been further strengthened on the basis of the Political Manifesto (Manipol).[1] Our people have displayed a sense of responsibility and capability in taking part in the work of safeguarding law and order.

Recent experiences, in particular the experiences gained in the course of holding the GANEFO, testify to the fact that the question of fighting against modern revisionism is not only a question for the Communists but also a question for all patriots who oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The revisionists are the *political and ideological volunteer soldiers* of the imperialists. Just like the imperialists, the revisionists retreat if opposed. As an example, the Yugoslav modern revisionists tried to play down the significance of the GANEFO and to insult it by sending only a very small number of athletes even though Yugoslavia was supposed to be one of the "sponsoring countries". But finally, after having met with resistance, they hurriedly sent a cultural troupe, and in the end they were compelled to take their place as a member of the Executive Committee of the GANEFO Federation.

Recent experiences also prove that all the successes we have scored have been made possible because of the fact that the *banteng*[2] spirit is burning in the breasts of

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[1] *Manipol.* This Manifesto, the common programme of the Indonesian people, was drawn up on the basis of President Sukarno's 17th August speech in 1959. In December 1960, it was adopted by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS) as official state policy.

[2] *Banteng:* wild bull. The animal which epitomises for the Indonesian people the qualities of tremendous power and strength and the ability to stand on one's own feet.

the Indonesian Communists and people, a spirit of confidence in our own strength, a spirit of the courage to stand on our own two feet, a spirit of resolutely upholding the revolutionary standpoint and the resolve, "Ever forward, No retreat!" In order to further develop this spirit, we give this Political Report the title: "*Set Afire the Banteng Spirit! Ever Forward, No Retreat!*"

With our burning *banteng* spirit, we struggle for the implementation of the Government's Triple Programme, for consistent land reform, for an end to the "26th May, 1963" terror, for the eradication of the counter-revolution, for a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core, to crush imperialism and modern revisionism.

With the *banteng* spirit we unfurl ever higher the Triple Banner of the Party and the Triple Banner of the Nation and we carry out the practical Triple Task of the Party and the Party's Four-Year Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation.

This in brief is the situation we are facing and our pressing tasks which shall be described at greater length below.

I

CONTINUE FORWARD FOR CONSISTENT LAND REFORM, TO CRUSH "MALAYSIA" AND FOR THE FORMATION OF A GOTONG ROYONG CABINET WITH NASAKOM AS THE CORE!

The Indonesian workers have drawn up a very simple and correct formulation of the domestic situation in Indonesia today. They say: "*politics are continuously shifting to the left, but the stomach is continuously shifting*

to the right". These are the hard facts of the situation in our country today.

It cannot be denied that the development of the political situation in Indonesia during the past 10 years, and in particular during the last few years and months, has been continuously shifting to the left. In other words, the progressive forces have continuously expanded and consolidated themselves, the unity between the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces or in other words the National Front has become broader and stronger with every passing day, while the reactionary forces have been becoming more and more isolated. The left-wing of the middle-of-the-road forces has also further expanded and consolidated itself. Together with the defeat suffered by the imperialists and together with the blows struck by the peasants against the feudal class, the domestic reactionaries have sustained defeat after defeat. But the balance of forces is still basically the same, that is to say, the unity of the middle-of-the-road forces together with the right-wing forces is still superior to the progressive forces, and the unity of the progressive forces and the middle-of-the-road forces can be superior to the right-wing forces. The increasing extent to which the middle-of-the-road forces are shifting to the left obstructs the formation of a right-wing Cabinet but it is not yet sufficient for the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core.

The liberation of West Irian, the birth of the Economic Declaration (Dekon), the advanced resolutions adopted by the Second Session of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS), the stamping out of the Darul Islam-TII Kartosuwirjo armed counter-revolutionary gangs, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the

strong condemnation, by President Sukarno and the broad masses of the people, of the anti-Chinese racialist terror of "10th May, 1963" together with the trial and punishment of these racial terrorists, the integration of citizens of Chinese extraction into the revolutionary movement, the growth of peasants' resistance against the landlords in the frame of implementing the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements (LSCA) and the Basic Agrarian Law (BAL), the severance of economic relations between Indonesia and "Malaysia", the great success of the GANEFO, the ever strengthening economic, political and cultural relations between Indonesia and the countries of the Socialist camp, the surging spirit of anti-imperialism within the framework of the crush-"Malaysia" campaign, the growing exposure of the crimes being perpetrated by US imperialism so that the broad masses are becoming more and more convinced that US imperialism is the number one enemy and the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people, the further development of the National Front organisation and Nasakom co-operation, the further unmasking of the hypocrite-Manipolists, the further exposure of the bureaucrat-capitalists and the mis-appointees and mis-managers as enemies of the Republic, the intensifying demand being raised by the people for an end to be put to the terror of the "26th May, 1963" economic regulations and for the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core, and so on and so forth — all these are clear evidence that the political situation is developing well, to the left. The new composition of the Kerdja Cabinet announced by President Sukarno on 13th November, too, which does within limits push the diehard reactionaries from the Indone-

sian political arena, is also evidence that developments are moving to the left.

The incapacitation of Soumokil, "South Moluccan Republic" counter-revolutionary rebel, with the assistance of the peasants in Seram, is an outstanding event which points to the importance of co-operation between the Armed Forces and the people, especially the peasants, in stamping out the counter-revolutionary rebels.

Even though the hypocrite-Manipolists are striving through the channels of indoctrination to cultivate phobias and undermine national unity, nevertheless, as a result of correct Manipol indoctrination, and holding firmly by the "nine counsels" of Bung Karno[1] carried out on a grand scale by the Manipolist political parties and mass organisations, by the National Front and also by the civil and military authorities, the idea of anti-imperialism, the idea of democracy, the ideas of land reform, of national unity with Nasakom as the core, of progressive internationalism, of Socialism and other progressive ideas are therefore penetrating more and more deeply into the thoughts and hearts of the broad masses of the people of all sectors.

In order to refute the hypocrite-Manipolists who set the Pancha Sila against the Nasakom, our Party always stresses the importance of holding firmly to the Pancha Sila as a weapon of unity and opposes attempts to pull it to pieces. The CPI always stresses that "agreeing with the Pancha Sila must mean agreeing with Nasakom" and together with this, the CPI also explains that "agreeing with Nasakom must mean agreeing with the Pancha Sila".

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[1] The "nine counsels" were formulated in the President's 17th August speech in 1962.

The reactionary ideas of speaking fine words about the imperialists and the landlords, of Communist-phobia, peasant-phobia, National Front-phobia, people-phobia, coup d'etats, military juntas, the state of emergency, racialism, chauvinism, the transfer of state enterprises to private hands, and so on are becoming less and less popular or have in fact already been roundly condemned by the masses of the people as being anti-people, anti-Republic, anti-the unity of the nation, anti-Manipol and counter-revolutionary.

All this points to the fact that the political situation in our country is moving more and more to the left. It also comes as a warning to us that the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries will, more than ever before, not be able to restrain themselves, that they will carry out even filthier and more brazen intrigues and actions than they have up to the present. But the people have already had enough practice in facing them, and they will therefore be skilful at aiming more effective and powerful blows at them.

This then is the domestic political situation and the direction in which it is moving.

It is not at all the same with developments in the economic field. The economic situation, in particular the food-and-clothing situation, has further deteriorated especially since the "26th May, 1963" deviation, that is to say, following the introduction of economic and financial regulations that are diametrically opposed to the Dekon, that are in fact aimed at sabotaging the Dekon, as a result of the reactionary policies of a few anti-people's ministers in the previously constituted Kerdja Cabinet, as a result of the policy of selling out to US imperialism through the so-called "economic stabilisation

programme" within the framework of "aid" from the IMF.

The exposure made by the CPI and the broad masses of the people pointing to the direct link between the "26th May" regulations and "aid" from abroad was finally admitted as being correct by the newly constituted Kerdja Cabinet, as was stated by First Deputy Prime Minister, Dr. Subandrio, in his statement before the Gotong Royong Parliament on 11th December last when he said that "*the regulations (26th May regulations) were introduced with the hope of receiving aid from abroad to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars*". The people are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that the struggle against the "26th May" deviation, for the implementation of the Dekon and for an improvement in the economic situation is at one and the same time a struggle against US neo-colonialism which is striving by means of "aid" to gain control of the Indonesian economy.

The policy of selling out which is manifested in the "26th May" regulations has made the economic situation in Indonesia, bad enough as it already was, far worse; it has led to an extraordinary increase in prices of goods and rates, including the price of rice, medicines, etc.; it has led to a sharp deterioration in the value of the rupiah thus striking a severe blow at the people, in particular the fixed salary or wage earners, such as the workers, government employees and members of the Armed Forces; it has led to many state enterprises and private national enterprises going bankrupt or being quite unable to proceed with the further development of the enterprises; it has led to an enormous deficit in the State Budget of Revenue and Expenditure and the Financial Budgets of Regional Governments; it has paralysed

the co-operatives, and has had numerous other unfavourable consequences. The sum result of all this is that it has paralysed the potentials of the Republic in the economic field which means the same thing as sabotaging implementation of the Manipol, the Dekon and the struggle of the Indonesian people against imperialism in general. More than that, the conceptors and the ministers responsible for the "26th May, 1963" deviation served US imperialism well by carrying out a steep devaluation of the exchange rate of the rupiah against the dollar, one of the absolute demands raised by the US imperialists in order to be able to strengthen their own position within the Indonesian economy. In this way, these regulations have helped the US imperialists to protect the value of their dollar against the general deterioration now being experienced by that currency.

The conceptors and ministers responsible for the "26th May, 1963" deviation should feel very lucky if they are not hanged, if they are only inflicted bodily punishment and if they are only dismissed from their positions as senior officials or ministers for their unforgivable sin. It is not only that the "26th May, 1963" regulations constitute a crime but in addition to that, they have deceived the people on a grand scale by claiming that these regulations are within the framework of implementation of the Dekon. Many honest and naive people have been deceived and think that these regulations are indeed part of the implementation of the Dekon, and as a result, after seeing the appalling consequences of the regulations, they too have joined in the game of blaming the Dekon. If the Dekon has not become discredited as a result of this grand deception, this is only thanks to all the explanatory work of the political parties, the mass organisations as

well as far-sighted progressives who have shown that the 26th May regulations are an attempt of the imperialists and their agents to sabotage the Dekon and to sabotage the anti-imperialist struggle of the Indonesian people.

The conceptors and defenders of the "26th May, 1963" deviation are still trying to persevere in their dirty work by proclaiming that the further deterioration in the economic situation is due not to their deviation but to President Sukarno's policy of campaigning against "Malaysia" and the holding of the GANEFO. They are trying to attack the policy of crushing "Malaysia" and the GANEFO policy from their own standpoint, the capitalist standpoint based on a calculation of purchase-and-sale and profit-and-loss. But in this too they have failed.

No one will doubt that the policy of campaigning against "Malaysia" and of holding the GANEFO requires the outlay of a great deal of money. But it is not possible to doubt, either, that the severance of economic relations with "Malaysia" opens up favourable perspectives for Indonesia's economy provided that the economic apparatus is in the hands of competent revolutionaries and not in the hands of defenders of the "26th May, 1963" deviation or in the hands of those who are only out to profit themselves.

An anti-imperialist policy is not a policy that can harm Indonesia. Considered from every angle, this policy is advantageous. Indonesia's anti-imperialist policy has aroused solidarity and sympathy as well as having drawn moral and material assistance from the progressive forces throughout the world over to the side of Indonesia.

The success achieved by the GANEFO and the campaign to crush "Malaysia" has not only greatly raised Indonesia's prestige internationally and increased the

confidence of the Indonesian people in their own capabilities, but it also helped greatly to consolidate the unity of the New Emerging Forces and struck a telling blow against the imperialists; all of this is of far greater significance than the money that has been spent to pay for the GANEFO and the campaign against "Malaysia".

Who can say that the situation today is not very favourable indeed for the anti-imperialist struggle! The more consistently Indonesia wages the campaign against imperialism, the greater become the potentials of the Indonesian people, the more and more new and favourable possibilities are opened up to Indonesia. The present situation is very excellent indeed for the anti-imperialist struggle and very bad indeed for the imperialists and their lackeys.

Moreover, if people want to talk about which policy is the "more expensive", an anti-imperialist policy or a pro-imperialist policy, there is not a single honest person who will deny that the Indonesian people were compelled to pay a very high price for the attitude of surrendering to the pressure of the imperialists which led to the "26th May, 1963" terror. It should not be forgotten that the 26th May deviation was one of the prerequisites put forward by the US imperialists if Indonesia wants to be friends with them. The policy of friendship with the imperialists is very expensive indeed: the greater the imperialism that wants to become friends, the greater is the price we have to pay for that friendship.

Thus, all the efforts to continue with the game of placing the responsibility for the present economic difficulties on the anti-"Malaysia" policy and the GANEFO are of no avail. Having committed one crime by introducing the "26th May" terror, they are now trying to

commit another one by discrediting the policy of crushing "Malaysia" and holding the GANEFO. Yes, this indeed is the nature of the diehard reactionaries; they will not stop till the Republic has been destroyed or until it has been placed under the heel of the imperialists whom they serve body and soul.

There is no doubt about it that the consciousness of the Indonesian people, in particular the Indonesian working class, is very high indeed. Even though they have summed up the situation as "the stomach is shifting to the right", they continue enthusiastically to greet every revolutionary call and policy of the government to crush imperialism, to crush racialism and counter-revolution, etc., even though they can know from the very start that this may lead to new temporary difficulties in their living conditions.

In the recent period there have been discussions among the workers which are of profound political significance and which constitute an important lesson for revolutionary leaders. There are workers who raise the question: which is better? Politics going to the left and the stomach to the right, or politics going to the right and the stomach to the left? Of course most people give the reply that the best thing is if "politics go to the left and the stomach goes to the left". Then, after an exchange of opinions, they conclude that since it is not yet possible for both to go to the left, then it is better if "politics go to the left and the stomach goes to the right" than the reverse because it is only if politics continually move to the left that we shall more speedily reach the end of our sufferings.

If politics shift to the right, even though this may be accompanied by enough food in the stomach and enough

clothes on the back, as for instance happens in capitalist countries at the time of a "boom", this is nothing but a postponement of even severer sufferings in the time to come.

The standpoint and resolve of the workers in face of the present situation has been correctly reflected in the words of one of our poets who wrote, "our hearts are harder than hunger". This standpoint and resolve of genuine revolutionaries is like an infallible bullet aimed straight at the reactionaries and the revisionists. Yes, at the revisionists, too, because they preach weak-heartedness and weak spirits, they preach capitulation to the enemy with such reactionary dogmas as "economics is more important" than a revolutionary policy.

This is the consciousness and unanimous resolve of the people, particularly the workers, in face of the present stage in the struggle. It differs not only from the reactionaries but also from the revisionists, the fake revolutionaries, it also differs from the hypocrite-Manipolists who care nought for the sufferings of the people and who are only clever at blaming the people for resisting reactionary policies and injustice.

Genuine revolutionary leaders, particularly Communists, must never for a moment doubt the resolve of the people in their struggle. On the contrary, they must learn from the people on the question of consciousness and unanimity of resolve. It is only the middle-of-the-roaders and the revisionists who have their doubts about all this, who think that the people have the same outlook as they do, that "hunger is harder than the heart", that material incentive is far more important than revolutionary ideology.

But genuine revolutionaries, particularly the Communists, must not only be skilful at accepting the fact that the people have a consciousness and unanimous resolve, and then going no farther than that. No, what is the use of a revolutionary leader if he cannot bring about an improvement in the appalling living conditions of the people, if he is not skilled at veering the steering-wheel from right to left in the matter of the people's living conditions. Revolutionaries are accepted as leaders of the people not only because they are skilled at taking political developments continually to the left but also because they are skilled, *together with the people,* at taking the people's stomach in the same direction, too.

It is for this reason that the revolutionaries must ceaselessly strive not only to take political developments to the left but also to improve the living conditions of the people. This is why the Indonesian Communists joyfully welcome the newly-constituted Kerdja Cabinet's programme with the deepest understanding and with the unanimous determination to implement it.

But as usual, the Indonesian Communists are clever not only at accepting a good programme and working hard for its implementation but also at indicating the conditions and correct methods to make implementation possible. Even if we want to make a rice cake, there are certain conditions and methods that must be met, let alone implementing a government programme. Without the appropriate conditions and the necessary methods, there is nothing that can be done. Thus, if we put forward the conditions and methods for the implementation of a programme, we are not just inventing some non-existent thing.

Below, we present the views of the Communists about the conditions and methods for implementation of the Government's programme. Basically, the proper implementation of the Kerdja Cabinet's programme cannot be isolated from *consistent implementation of land reform, from putting a stop to the "26th May 1963" deviation, from stamping out the counter-revolution, from the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core, and from democratisation of the system of government.*

(1) FOOD AND CLOTHING

Food and clothing, and in particular foodstuffs, is the most pressing question, something which cannot be postponed, as President Sukarno has frequently said. The Economic Declaration lays down the short-term programme for the solution of the food and clothing problem, especially foodstuffs. But the "26th May" terror created havoc with everything that had been said in the Dekon. The price policy of the 26th May, 1963 economic measures, a policy of competing with the open market price, has resulted in the market price of rice soaring up to Rp. 150-180 a kilo, and even higher in certain places. The price of rice has gone up roughly three times by comparison with the level prior to the 26th May deviation. This has taken the working people, especially those living on a fixed wage or salary, even closer to the borders of semi-starvation.

Many concepts have been tried out and proposed such as, securing adequate supplies of foodstuffs by importing more from abroad, setting up so-called Padi Centres which later became the "Pertani", the rice self-

supporting programme, making alterations in the menu composition although it is already generally known that the people are now eating virtually anything edible, the construction of fertiliser plants, the provision of credit, birth control, and various other schemes. Not only is it impossible for all this to be implemented, but in addition it is just a way, deliberately or otherwise, of evading the only real solution, namely, radical land reform.

Indonesia's national bourgeoisie is still young and still has many family ties with the landlords. One of its legs is capitalist while the other is feudal. In particular, the position of Indonesia's industrial bourgeoisie is very weak indeed. As a result of all this, they have no stake in an increase in the purchasing power of the masses of the peasants in order that the peasants are able to purchase their industrial products. Thus, although the Indonesian bourgeoisie is objectively anti-feudal, it cannot possibly have a radical agrarian programme. They cannot possibly become the like of the Jacobins during the 1789 French Revolution. A class that does not possess the necessary conditions to become like the Jacobins will even more certainly not possess the conditions to implement the ideals of Socialism. The only class that has the necessary conditions for possessing a radical agrarian programme is the proletariat, and no other class. It is the proletariat that is objectively capable of drawing the peasants over to their side, to the side of the revolution, and this has indeed already been proven by the facts of the struggle of the Indonesian people.

Indonesian Communists have long since held the opinion that, on the question of finding a solution to the food-and-clothing programme, too, the Indonesian people must stand on their own two feet. For this purpose, for

the final *solution* of the food-and-clothing problem, and not for piecemeal solution, there is only one way: the *first step* that has to be taken is implementation of radical land reform, not increasing imports, altering the menu, setting up fertiliser factories, and the like, because all these measures cannot solve the problem or are in the nature of follow-up measures.

Implementing radical land reform means effecting confiscation of the landlords' land, distributing this confiscated land free of charge to the tilling peasants and the members of their family individually as their personal property. It is only in this way that the productive forces in the countryside can be really and truly freed, and only after that has been done is it possible to talk about the best possible ways of cultivating the land because the tiller knows that the increased produce from his land will be his own property. If the tiller owns the entire produce of his land, then the living conditions of the peasants will improve somewhat and a reasonable portion of the produce will be available for improving the fertility of the land and so further increasing the yield. It is only after land reform is carried out that the question of importing rice really becomes something that is no more than temporary, and it is only then that the construction of fertiliser plants, the provision of credit and other such schemes have any real significance. As long as radical land reform has not been effected, all these schemes are nothing more than a source of corruption, speculation and manipulation, while the peasants continue to live in hardship.

But the CPI's radical agrarian programme was not acceptable to the national bourgeoisie. In order to turn it down, they entered into an alliance with landlord

elements. Under the powerful pressure of the masses of the peasants, it was not possible for the national bourgeoisie and the landlord elements to reject this programme altogether. Step by step they beat a retreat; at first they were compelled to accept the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements and then after that, the Basic Agrarian Law, a law which restricts landlord ownership of the land. While beating a retreat they offered resistance in particular in order to prevent radical measures from being taken against the landlords, and to provide numerous escape clauses which could be used by the landlords to protect themselves from loss. To this end, the most important thing for them was that they succeeded in placing district heads of all the levels as the Chairmen of the Land Reform Committees. With the chairmanship in the hands of the district heads, who generally have a stake in preserving the landlord system, the most important apparatus, the Land Reform Committee, has naturally been paralysed. But this is not all; added to this is the role of certain reactionary officials of the Agrarian Affairs Division or those officials who are not in favour of consistent implementation of the land reform, who are in two minds about it or at least have no interest in it. Reports are now even being heard that there are many persons in the Agrarian Affairs Division who are seeking profits for themselves out of the land reform, out of conversion of rights over cultivated land and out of land distribution in the urban regions.

The CPI approves of the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements and the Basic Agrarian Law because they can both be the basis for peasants' actions, enabling them to know better who their enemies are and to obtain some

small though temporary improvement in their living conditions.

Indonesian peasants are by now well experienced in so-called land reform according to the Basic Agrarian Law. Just imagine: even according to official estimates, the surplus land to be distributed among the peasants based on the Basic Agrarian Law amounts to 1 million hectares. However, only one-fifth of it has been registered. Of this one-fifth a mere 9% has been distributed, while half of this 9% has fallen into the hands of those who are not entitled to it. Yet, it has been stated officially that within the year 1963 the land reform based on the Basic Agrarian Law should be completed. If implementation continues as it has up to the present, then it is not certain that even several decades will be enough to complete the distribution of landlords' surplus land to the peasants who are tillers, and an even longer period will be needed if account is taken of the time needed to expose the irregularities perpetrated by the landlords and then to distribute the land involved.

At the present time, the enforcement of the Basic Agrarian Law is not only proceeding very slowly indeed but it can in fact be said to have got completely bogged down. Based on a calculation of the area of surplus land distributed annually up to the present time out of the officially registered surplus land, the distribution of this land will be completed at the earliest by the year 2000. The picture is the same as regards implementation of the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements. According to figures collected in West Java, if the present rate continues, another 36 years will be required before all tillers conclude crop-sharing agreements with landowners in the region in accordance with the Law.

The position of the working fishermen is even worse. In their case, there is as yet still no law regulating a just division of the catch between the owner of equipment and the fishermen. Basically it is still the owner of equipment who unilaterally fixes the division of the catch and this entails severe hardship for the working fishermen.

It is not a matter for surprise if the peasants' awareness of the need for radical land reform is becoming keener and keener, and in the present situation, the peasants demand at the very least that the Basic Agrarian Law be consistently implemented and in a way that gives priority to the interests of the peasants. For this purpose, the CPI fully supports the following demands of the peasants:

(1) *Land Reform Committees* at all levels should, without exception, have Nasakom as the core, they should be activised, and all committee members as well as the chairmen, that is, the district chiefs who are not active should be retooled.

(2) *Retooling of the personnel of the Agrarian Affairs Division,* the office most closely involved in the land reform question, so that this division should, from the centre down to the regions, consist of persons who genuinely give pride of place to the interests of the tilling peasants and who earnestly favour the speedy implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law.

(3) The establishment of *Land Reform Courts* with peasant participation, to try those landlords and government officials who do not implement the Law in earnest.

In short, if there is not yet the courage to carry out a radical land reform as is proposed by the CPI Programme, then the very least that must be done is to

implement these three demands of the peasants. If only these three demands have been met and the Basic Agrarian Law implemented it will still not be the time to stick out chests and proclaim that land reform has been put into practice in a revolutionary way. Indeed this would not be right since implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law only means restricting landlord ownership of the land and it does not in any way abolish feudal ownership of the land, it does not yet mean implementation of the slogan, "land only to the peasants who till it". The Basic Agrarian Law still guarantees ownership of agricultural land by those who do not till the land and this opens up great possibilities for manipulations in land, which can completely negate the significance of the Law.

The delays in implementation of these two laws cannot fail to result in the emergence and spread of unilateral actions by the peasants. If this happens, and it has indeed already happened in some regions, it is not possible to lay the blame on the peasants, from whatever point of view the question is considered. It is the responsible officials who, deliberately or otherwise, have delayed or at the very least have neither the wish nor the ability to implement state laws that must be blamed and retooled.

Revolutionaries must enthusiastically welcome and encourage unilateral actions taken by the peasants and must consider them as being actions taken on the initiative of the masses of the people in an effort to solve the food-and-clothing difficulties and to implement democratically-adopted state laws.

Even if these three demands of the peasants and the Basic Agrarian Law are implemented, this does not in

any way mean that the productive forces in the countryside will have truly been freed. Implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law does not abolish the labour relationship between the owner and the tiller of the land since it still guarantees the ownership of agricultural land by those who do not till it. Therefore, both before as well as after implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law, the question of sharing the crop between the tiller and the leaser of the land, whether this is a landlord or a small leaser of land, will remain. The Basic Agrarian Law is not the basis for abolishing exploitation of the peasants by the landlords, the major form of exploitation of man by man in the villages. For this reason, the experiences gained by the peasants in the fight against the landlords in the context of implementing the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements are very important in order to intensify the struggle, both before as well as after implementation of the Basic Agrarian Law.

Feudal relations between the tiller and the landowner will only disappear altogether if the CPI's agrarian programme is implemented. This complete land reform programme must therefore constantly be the beacon of the peasants because it is the only pointer to the road leading to abolition of the exploitation of the peasants by the landlords.

By contrast with the Communists, the Indonesian national bourgeoisie think themselves great because they have made a confused effort to restrict land ownership by the landlords and, on the other hand, they think that they would be guilty of a great sin if they went to the extent of abolishing ownership of agricultural land by those who do not till it. So long as such land ownership

is preserved, then whatever the type of land reform, it must certainly be accompanied by disgraceful manipulations and swindling.

To speak about solving the food difficulties but not to have the courage to implement radical land reform or, in the present situation, not to have the courage at the very least to consistently implement the Basic Agrarian Law in a way that gives pride of place to the interests of the tilling peasants, is pure nonsense, self-deception and deception of the people.

The efforts to solve the clothing problem are also inseparable from implementation of radical land reform, because it is only after Indonesia has solved the question of foodstuffs that the possibility will be opened up for it to solve the textile problem. This problem cannot possibly be solved as long as a large amount of foreign currency is being used up to finance food imports.

All talk about modernising Indonesia and about completing the revolution is also nonsense so long as there is not the courage to implement radical land reform. Indonesia is an agrarian country where feudal survivals still predominate. It is for this reason that the Indonesian revolution is in essence an agrarian revolution, a revolution of the peasants. As long as the landlord system still prevails and the slogan "land only to those who till it" has not been consistently implemented, it will not be possible for us to talk about Indonesia being modern and about the completion of the national-democratic Indonesian revolution.

Thus, both in order to raise the level of agricultural production within the framework of solving the food problem and solving the clothing problem and in order to

modernise Indonesia, as well as in order to complete Indonesia's national-democratic revolution, radical land reform is the indispensable condition and the first step which has to be taken. This does not of course mean radical in words only but also radical in deeds, deeds that require courage in order to put an end to landlord ownership of the land and to implement the slogan, "land only to those who till it". Such a measure can have no other result than that of benefiting the people and it will greatly strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle and the construction of the country's economy because the vast majority of the people, the peasants, can become active participants.

The development of Working People's Co-operatives, specially among the workers and the peasants, that are capable of playing a part in facilitating the distribution of food and clothing and raising the production of foodstuffs, is not proceeding well. The co-operatives that exist already are generally not genuine Working People's Co-operatives but a field of activity for the exploiters, the capitalists and even the bureaucrat-capitalists. This is the best proof that co-operatives are conditioned by the prevailing economic system and are hard-pressed by the interests of the dominating class.

The above analysis clarifies the reason why we must base our country's economy on agriculture and the estates. It is only if we have an economy the basis of which is strong, that is to say, with an agricultural and estate sector that is advanced and developed, that we can build up and strengthen the industrial sector as the backbone of our economy. As has been explained above, the first step that must be taken in order to obtain a strong basis for the economy is radical land

reform. And the Socialism which we are to build in the future, too, can only stand firm if it has a strong agricultural basis. This is why Indonesian Communists both now as well as in the future when Socialism is being built must devote the greatest possible attention to the question of the peasants and the estate workers, to the question of the village.

The importance of the role of the peasants or the role of the village has already been proven in the past. Although we have not yet succeeded in completely fulfilling the demands of the August 1945 Revolution, our revolution has nevertheless given us very important lessons on the indispensability of the role of the peasants in the revolution. We are now profoundly conscious of the fact that it was first and foremost because we did not attach sufficient importance to the peasants in the August 1945 Revolution that our national-democratic revolution has not been completed to this very day.

Both history and the facts of the present day as well as the future make it compulsory for Indonesian Communists and other revolutionaries to integrate themselves totally with the Indonesian peasants' movement; they must devote the greatest possible attention to the problems of the village, to the problems of the peasants and the estate workers.

Integration of the revolutionaries with the peasants' movement at the present time means in the first place integration in thought by fully accepting the radical agrarian programme and by being whole-heartedly prepared to implement this programme. We have frequently spoken about this. But since this is a vital question and since it is still often forgotten even by some Communists, and especially since there are still many people

who deliberately want to forget all about the important role of the peasants in the past, and since there are persons among the hypocrite-Manipolists who also want to trample upon the peasants at the present time, however many hundreds of times we may recall to mind the importance of the peasants and of agriculture, it will never be enough.

(2) CRUSH "MALAYSIA"

The CPI is the party which was the first to warn of the danger of the "Malaysia" concept for Indonesia and for peace in Southeast Asia. In fact even before the concept of "Malaysia" was born, when the state of Malaya was set up by the British colonialists, the CPI stated the opinion that this new kingdom was a manifestation of neo-colonialism, the result of a compromise between British imperialism and the Malayan reactionaries for the purpose of crushing the progressive movement in Malaya. Thus, the kingdom of Malaya was formed not as a result of revolutionary struggle against colonialism. With the establishment of "Malaysia", the neo-colonial Malaya has been given a new cloak and its territory has been expanded. This neo-colonial project did not start with "Malaysia"; it started with the formation of the kingdom of Malaya the purpose of which was to stamp out the progressive movement of the Malayan people and preserve the political, economic and military interests of the British imperialists in that region.

Before "Malaysia" came into existence, Indonesian Communists continuously warned the entire nation of

the dangers that could arise from a game of flirtation with Tengku Abdul Rachman, Britain's number one compradore in Southeast Asia. This is the reason why the CPI never agreed to the holding of a Manila Conference between Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya; there is no basis for such a conference in view of the fact that the domestic and foreign policies of these two foreign countries are not in any way similar to Indonesia's domestic and foreign policies. Indonesian Communists did not approve of such a conference in order to safeguard Indonesia's domestic and foreign policy which is basically supported by the Communists.

But despite the wishes of the Indonesian Communists, the Manila Conference took place in August 1963. We highly appreciate the position of President Sukarno who waged a struggle for progressive ideas during that conference. The Manila Conference gave birth to several decisions, including one concerning a "Confederation of Maphilindo" and one concerning the "Federation of Malaysia".

As regards Maphilindo, Indonesian Communists have already clearly stated their attitude, that is, that a confederation can only be established between states if there are certain similarities in political affairs. It is not possible to set up a confederation on the basis of (Malay) race alone. There is no similarity of policy between Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaya, either in domestic or in foreign affairs. Indonesia's domestic policy is one of unifying the entire people with Nasakom as the core in order to complete the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, while Indonesia's foreign policy is to unify all the new emerging forces of the world and as a result of this, Indonesia pursues a policy of close

co-operation with the Socialist states, with the anti-imperialist newly independent states and with the progressive movement in the capitalist countries and wherever else these new emerging forces may be. The US imperialists are striving hard to get Indonesia to enter the Maphilindo trap because other traps such as SEATO and the ASA have all failed.

Between the Philippines and Malaya there is indeed a similarity in their domestic and foreign policies in that they both rely upon imperialism, but it should not be forgotten that these two countries serve different imperialists; Malaya serves the British and the Philippines serves the United States. There is one thing which certainly creates a conflict between Malaya and the Philippines and that is the Philippines' claim to Sabah. The USA supports the Philippines' claim because it would like to have a territory under its domination that borders on Indonesian territory. Naturally, the British utilise Malaya in order to oppose the Philippines' claim.

Thanks to the struggle waged by President Sukarno and his assistants, the Manila Conference gave birth to decisions the sentences of which are not so jarring to the ear when related to Indonesia's own domestic and foreign policy. But there is at least one thing that gives cause for concern and that is that the Manila decisions among other things accept the "Malaysia" concept in principle, as long as certain conditions are fulfilled, conditions which in fact are not very difficult to fulfil with the continued presence of British troops in Sarawak and Sabah. But the British imperialists of today are not the British imperialists of yore who had full confidence in their own strength. It is not without cause that the British imperialists do not have enough confidence in

their own strength. Since they no longer feel safe about their position in Hongkong, the British are retreating to their last line of defence in Southeast Asia, "Malaysia". The fact that Britain has been unable to force Brunei to enter "Malaysia" proves that she was not in a strong position in forcing through the establishment of "Malaysia". Britain forcibly imposed the establishment of "Malaysia" without paying heed to the Manila decisions.

If the Manila Agreement has now become positive, that is to say, it can be utilised in order to face up to "Malaysia" and has within limits drawn the Philippines over to opposing "Malaysia", this is in the first place because Britain itself did not heed the Manila Agreement when it established "Malaysia" even though the agreement does not in fact oppose the establishment of "Malaysia". The Manila Agreement could have become negative; it could have been harmful to the struggle of the Indonesian people and the struggle of the people in Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Sabah and the Philippines and to the struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia in general if the British had had full confidence in themselves and had followed all the stipulations contained in the Manila Agreement. If this had happened, then "Malaysia" would have become "legal" and the initiative in this question would have shifted into the hands of the British and their Tengku.

The impatience and stupidity of the enemy has helped to make "Malaysia" a means of arousing the struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia in order to direct powerful blows against imperialism in this region. This shows once again that imperialism is no longer in a strong position. On the other hand, the people are strong;

even though they make a mistake they can speedily come to the fore again to take the initiative.

Today Indonesia is on the initiative in the campaign to crush "Malaysia". The question of "Malaysia" is not only an issue for the peoples in the territories of "Malaysia" and in Indonesia, but it is also an issue for the people throughout the whole of Southeast Asia, and it cannot be considered as something that stands isolated from the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is why it is indeed appropriate for the struggle of the Indonesian people against "Malaysia" to be helped by the forces of anti-imperialism throughout the world. The Kerdja Cabinet's programme to crush "Malaysia" is a revolutionary programme which is at one and the same time of national and international significance.

The question now is, what is the best way for the Indonesian people and Government to implement this programme to crush "Malaysia", above all in order that implementation of this programme can be harmoniously integrated with the other programmes and tasks of the Indonesian people and Government.

There are some people with narrow-minded outlooks — not to call them spokesmen of the counter-revolutionaries — who hold the opinion that the programme of crushing "Malaysia" is in conflict with the food-and-clothing programme and the programme for the continuation of construction, and that it is also in conflict with the task of stamping out counter-revolution, with the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet and the like. They say that in order to implement the crush-"Malaysia" programme a large amount of money and forces will have to be expended so that, whether we like it or

not, the food-and-clothing programme will have to be neglected. They say, too, that in order to crush "Malaysia" we shall have to mobilise the largest possible "national" forces and that this should include drawing over as many as possible of those who have up to now been regarded as counter-revolutionaries. This is why, they say, it is not correct to continue with the policy of crushing the domestic counter-revolutionaries; it is even more incorrect, so they say, to set up a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core because, if such a cabinet were set up, the counter-revolutionaries would further estrange themselves from the Government. Thus, they say, in order to ensure implementation of the crush-"Malaysia" programme, the people must more courageously bear with their sufferings and they must adopt an attitude of "tolerance" towards the counter-revolutionaries.

Just see, is there any more astounding and disgraceful distortion than this? A distortion that is indeed needed by the counter-revolutionaries but that is certainly not needed by the people!

In the hands of well-intentioned and earnest ministers, the three points of the Government's new Triple Programme are mutually complementary and each one strengthens the other. Implementation of the food-and-clothing programme — the indispensable condition once again being implementation of radical land reform or at the very least consistent implementation of the present Basic Agrarian Law in the interests of the peasants — will strengthen national potentials and by so doing, will make it possible to direct powerful blows against "Malaysia". Implementation of the crush-"Malaysia" programme will, as has already been proven, free In-

donesia from the stranglehold of the monopoly capitalists and their compradores in Malaya and Singapore so that Indonesia can establish direct relations with the consumers of its exports and the producers of its imports. If Indonesia frees itself from the stranglehold of Malaya and Singapore, this will create new possibilities for it to alter the direction of its foreign trade which has, up to the present, been far too one-sidedly directed towards the capitalist countries, and this change is important in the context of the country's efforts to solve the food and clothing difficulties and continue with construction. Implementation of the programme for the continuation of construction means that food-and-clothing, in particular foodstuffs for the people, must be guaranteed for the people because it is not possible to construct anything on an empty stomach.

Above all else, the programme to crush "Malaysia" can only be implemented properly if the "26th May, 1963" deviation is speedily ended, if counter-revolution is completely uprooted and if a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core is rapidly established. The "26th May, 1963" deviation, the fact that counter-revolutionary remnants are still at large, and the failure as yet to establish a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core are the chief obstacles in implementing the crush-"Malaysia" programme because they all weaken the economic and political potentials of the country and result in it not being possible to create "social support", "social participation" and "social control" in the implementation of the Government's programme.

New difficulties are bound to arise in the context of confrontation with "Malaysia", but difficulties always arise in the process of giving birth to something new and

better. Is anything new born without being attended by difficulties?

The policy of crushing "Malaysia" had become the official programme of the Government. Virtually all political parties, all mass organisations and all leaders of society have expressed their opposition to "Malaysia", though of course each one according to its or his own interests and standpoint, in accord with the class they represent. There are basically three groups and three standpoints towards the question of "Malaysia".

Firstly, there are the reformists or the moderates who speak about crushing "Malaysia", sometimes in a fiery vein, but in the back of their minds they still nurture the hope that the British imperialists and Tengku Abdul Rachman will be willing to settle the "Malaysia" question "peacefully", and for this purpose they are prepared to make certain concessions. They still dream of holding a Second Manila Summit Meeting in order to "settle" the "Malaysia" question. They say that "we can't go on living in confrontation for ever". They are in this way opposing President Sukarno's theory which states that confrontation is the one and only way to settle the "Malaysia" question. They attempt to provide a reason to back up their standpoint by saying that we have no disagreement in principle with "Malaysia", but that what we do not agree with are the methods by which "Malaysia" was established, that is, not in conformity with the Manila Agreement. Just see, what is there not clear in all this? In principle, they accept neo-colonialism; it is only the methods by which the neo-colonial structure is set up to which they take exception.

Revolutionaries, in particular Communists must beware of the reformist or moderate standpoint because

this reformist idea which dons the mask of "reasonableness", "tolerance", "for the good of Indonesia's economy", and even "for the good of food and clothing" and "for the good of safeguarding Indonesian Socialism" can win popularity among the very large number of vacillating middle-of-the-roaders.

Secondly, the counter-revolutionary adventures. They have long striven to bring about the downfall of what they call the "Sukarno regime". They have tried by means of coup d'etat, by means of counter-revolutionary rebellion, by attempting to assassinate President Sukarno, by attempts to brand President Sukarno as "communist" so as to draw the more backward religious sections over to their side, they have tried by slandering President Sukarno with regard to private affairs both through the columns of foreign reactionary newspapers (they dare not do this at home any more), through the dissemination of illegal publications as well as through vicious whispering campaigns. But all this has been of no avail. Bung Karno's prestige as a national leader as well as an anti-imperialist international leader is continually rising with the rise in prestige of the Indonesian people.

In public, the counter-revolutionary adventurers are fond of publishing "fiery" statements about "Malaysia" with the result that foreign observers who do not grasp the question frequently get all confused, and the gullible ones are easily deceived, because the words the adventurers used are the same as those used in statements made by the Communists and other revolutionaries. This confusion quickly disappears after the real motive behind these "fiery" words is explained, namely, fishing for limited military action by the British so as to arouse panic at home which they hope will present them with

a good opportunity to put an end to the "Sukarno regime" or at the very least to make Bung Karno their political captive, willing to sign whatever they present him with, and then finally establish good relations with "Malaysia" and the British as well as presenting their victory to the USA.

The revolutionaries and in particular Communists must also be very vigilant against these counter-revolutionaries, they must continuously confront their "fiery" words with their reactionary deeds of which there are plenty. To give but one example: an attitude of genuine opposition to "Malaysia" cannot possibly be combined with an attitude of being against national Gotong Royong with Nasakom as the core because it is not possible to wage confrontation against "Malaysia" successfully without such Gotong Royong. Furthermore, they are anti-Nasakom, or at the very least never speak about the absolute necessity of Nasakom as the core, as President Sukarno so frequently does.

Thirdly, the revolutionaries, which include the Communists. The revolutionaries hold the opinion that the contradiction between the Indonesian people and other anti-imperialist peoples of the world on the one hand, and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, including "Malaysia", on the other, is a contradiction that cannot be settled at the negotiating table but that must be settled through confrontation in all fields. The imperialists, the colonialists and the neo-colonialists will only retreat if they have been powerfully stormed first, and it is only at the stage when they have been compelled to beat a retreat that there is any use holding negotiations with them in order to accept their surrender This is the unforgettable lesson the Indonesian

people learned from implementation of the People's Triple Command (Trikora) for the liberation of West Irian.

Of course, we should not mechanically compare the question of West Irian with the question of "Malaysia" even though in both cases it is a question of opposing imperialism. West Irian is our own legal territory and Dutch imperialism is far weaker than British imperialism. The position of the British in "Malaysia" is far more dangerous to the Republic of Indonesia than the previous position of the Dutch in West Irian. The Dutch in West Irian did not constitute such a serious threat to the struggle of the peoples and to peace in Southeast Asia by comparison with the position of the British in "Malaysia" today.

But it is a serious mistake to exaggerate the strength of the British in "Malaysia" because "Malaysia" is nothing but the project of moribund imperialism implemented in great haste because of a deep fear that it will lose its position altogether in Southeast Asia. This fact and the fact that Britain was not able to compel Brunei to enter "Malaysia" is one of the many proofs of the weakness of the British imperialists. But neither is the idea that "Malaysia" can be settled in great haste correct, because such an idea can run parallel with the reformists and their Second Manila Summit Meeting and with the counter-revolutionary adventurers and their "fieriness" as the smoke-screen for their criminal schemes towards the "Sukarno regime".

The campaign to crush "Malaysia" is the most important concrete task, it must not for a single moment be forgotten that of the Indonesian people in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism

today. In the implementation of this task the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people, their enemy number one, is American imperialism, and that American imperialism also has a great interest in preserving "Malaysia" as a form of neo-colonialism. Thus the struggle against "Malaysia" is a struggle not only against British imperialism but also directly against US imperialism. This is borne out by the truly outrageous measures taken by the US imperialists who have crudely brandished their "economic aid" to intimidate and compel Indonesia into abandoning its opposition to "Malaysia" and by the expansion of the operational area of the US Seventh Fleet to include the Indonesian Ocean.

The campaign to crush "Malaysia" must be waged in a spirit of great enthusiasm which must at the same time be combined with persevering work in all fields, both those fields directly connected with confrontation against "Malaysia" as well as those concerning internal matters. We must further intensify the confrontation that has already begun to be waged, make it more highly spirited but at the same time more persevering.

Confrontation in the political field must be waged by continuously exposing "Malaysia" as an imperialist project, by continuously exposing their leaders who are nothing but paid agents of the imperialists, by continuously cultivating the understanding of the NEFO friends and drawing their attention to this struggle, by continuously flaying the agents of "Malaysia" as well as other reactionaries at home, by improving the composition of the Kerdja Cabinet so as to ensure that it obtains the most powerful possible "social support" and "social control", and so on. Of course, the most urgent thing in this political confrontation is to recognise the Unitary

State of North Kalimantan with its North Kalimantan National Army, under the leadership of Prime Minister Azahari, as the only legal power in the territory because this can become a strong political basis for giving all manner of assistance to the people's struggle in North Kalimantan.

Confrontation in the economic field is a most powerful weapon both in order to strike a blow against the interests of the British imperialists as well as to free Indonesia's own economy from the stranglehold of survivals of imperialism which have obstructed our trade relations with foreign countries for a very long time. Economic confrontation should be regarded not as something that strikes out at a few merchants in Singapore but first and foremost as something which strikes a direct blow at the interests of the imperialists.

Above all else, within the framework of confrontation in the economic field, the economic and financial apparatus of our Republic must undergo large-scale retooling, because this apparatus is the weakest by comparison with other sectors, because it is here that the colonial economic and financial "experts" have their nest, the right-wing socialists, the former Masjumi members and other reactionaries many of whom have now joined up with employers' organisations such as Soksi,[1] Perkapen and others. The most criminal of all are the right-wing socialist "experts" because they are very clever at wrapping up their criminal intentions in words that sound "progressive" and "logical", and they occupy im-

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[1] *Soksi:* an organisation set up by the bureaucrat-capitalists in an attempt to destroy the militant trade unions. It has deliberately taken initials almost identical with those of the revolutionary trade union, SOBSI.

portant posts, including positions as senior officials and "experts" in the staff of ministers who are responsible for economic and financial affairs. Every single criminal economic and financial regulation, especially since the time Sumitro, the right-wing socialist big shot, held power in economic and financial affairs, right up to the "26th May, 1963" terror, has been the creation of the right-wing socialists and has been advocated first and foremost by them.

The economic and financial apparatus is the one that was previously the least discussed by the people, as distinct from the Armed Forces, village government administration, education and the schools, etc. This is the reason why the economic and financial apparatus is among the weakest in our Republic which is waging a struggle against imperialism. But recently, more and more leaders and people have been drawn into the discussions about economic and financial questions and the result is that the apparatus in these two fields has come more into the spotlight and has been subject to severe criticism. This is a good new phenomenon which should be further encouraged and developed.

Within the framework of waging confrontation against "Malaysia", it is of course the absolute duty of the Indonesian people, too, to help the armed struggle of the North Kalimantan people, while at the same time the North Kalimantan people's revolution greatly helps the Indonesian people in their struggle to crush "Malaysia".

Indonesia has frequently received assistance in its own armed struggle both when it smashed the "PRRI-Permesta" counter-revolutionary rebellion by force of arms and when it implemented the People's Triple Command for the liberation of West Irian. Indonesia is therefore

very well aware of the fact that the North Kalimantan people need to be assisted in their armed struggle. Of course, the decisive thing is the armed struggle of the North Kalimantan people themselves. This does not in any way reduce the significance of and the need for assistance from Indonesia.

Thus, both sides, North Kalimantan as well as Indonesia, must firmly uphold the principle that it is the North Kalimantan people who are liberating their country while Indonesia's role is that of giving assistance. For this reason we do not agree with those Indonesian "Bonapartists" who think that it is they who are going to liberate North Kalimantan and that without them, North Kalimantan cannot possibly be free. Such an attitude is not in conformity with Indonesia's own experiences. However much help Indonesia may have received from friendly countries, the deciding factor for Indonesia's victory has in the first place been the struggle of the Indonesian people themselves.

(3) CONTINUE WITH CONSTRUCTION

We have already discussed above the mutual connection between the three points in the Government's Programme and the way in which they mutually complement each other. The programme to continue with construction is very closely connected with the programme to solve the food-and-clothing problem, as has already been explained above, and it is also greatly dependent upon the "Malaysia" question being solved in the correct, revolutionary way. Neither can it be separated from the task of putting an end to the "26th

May, 1963" deviation, from the task of stamping out the counter-revolution to the very roots and from that of setting up a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core.

In discussing the third point in the Kerdja Cabinet's programme, we feel that it is necessary to discuss more deeply some aspects of the economic problem which have a direct influence on the degree to which construction can be properly continued. These aspects are: (a) the 26th May, 1963 economic regulations; (b) the 1963 and 1964 State Budgets; (c) economic confrontation with "Malaysia"; (d) the penetration of imperialist capital into Indonesia; and (e) back to the Dekon as the only way to continue with economic construction.

(a) THE 26TH MAY, 1963 ECONOMIC REGULATIONS

The 26th May, 1963 economic regulations, which are now better known as the "26th May, 1963" deviation, include implementation of outdated economic theory in monetary and trade affairs. In "The Resounding Voice of the Indonesian Revolution" (Gesuri), the President's 17th August speech this year, it is said that *"we should not and cannot tackle the economic problem in routine fashion"*.

The policy represented by the "26th May, 1963" deviation is indeed a routine policy that has repeatedly been pursued since 1950, which in principle sacrifices everything, and in particular production and the living standards of the working people, in order to attain so-called "monetary stability" and to give incentives to the exporters. Such a policy is all the more condemnable since it was implemented only a few months following the pronouncement of the Economic Declaration (Dekon) which places the emphasis on production and on bring-

ing about an improvement in the living standards of the people.

The "26th May, 1963" deviation also represents a crude violation of the principle of guided economy, particularly in the field of trade. Guided economy principles, such as effective price control, the evenly spread out distribution of basic essentials in all parts of the country, the channelising of raw materials to the industrial sector and the stamping out of manipulations and speculation, were completely abandoned even though this was in conflict with the demands being raised by the broad masses of the people. The State Trading Corporations, which are widely known to be nests of manipulation where the bureaucrat-capitalists are enriching themselves at the expense of the entire people, were not retooled in accordance with what the people demanded, but were given far wider powers without being obliged any more to be bound by the policy being pursued by the Government. Their debts to the state were generally cancelled. It is most shocking to read a recent report to the effect that the State Trading Corporations which should be a source of state finance have been given yet more credit to the tune of Rp. 8.9 milliard, for no other reason than the blows they are said to have felt as a result of the "26th May, 1963" regulations, though it is just these very State Trading Corporations that were greatly boasted by the strongly-condemned 26th May regulations.

The wave of protest against the "26th May, 1963" deviation started right from the moment the regulations were announced and our Party's statement issued on 3rd June, 1963 under the slogan "Save the Dekon" helped

very much to spread a correct understanding among the masses about this deviation and to prevent the Dekon from being discredited because of this deviation.

There is no knowing how many enterprises have been compelled to close down or to cut down the level of operations as a result of this deviation. There is no knowing how many workers have lost their jobs as a result of this deviation. There is no knowing how many means of transportation and means of production have been compelled to go out of use because the owners, state or private, are unable to pay the HPN surcharge (State Trading Levy) as fixed by this deviation. There is no knowing how much state money already invested in construction projects has been lost because these projects have come to a standstill as a result of this deviation. There is no knowing how many activities of the Government, particularly those of regional governments, that have had to be abandoned as a result of this deviation.

The *Gesuri* speech clearly states that *"giving pride of place to an increase in production"* is a *"necessity"* because the *"productive forces of the workers and peasants must be developed positively"*.

The 26th May economic regulations do not implement what is said in the *Gesuri* speech about developing the productive forces of the workers and peasants; on the contrary they suppress the development of these forces. This is proven by the fact that, up to the present, the purchasing power of the working people has been consistently declining because of the price increase policy and because of the further curtailment in the earnings of the working people. The productive sector has expe-

rienced widespread bankruptcy in many fields with the result that unemployment has become more widespread. Implementation of land reform in accordance with the Basic Agrarian Law can be said to have come to a standstill, but the peasants are forced to sell their products cheaply and on the other hand to buy basic essentials at a high price.

A special feature of the 26th May economic regulations is the provision of rupiah and foreign currency incentives to the exporters by devaluing or reducing the exchange rate of the rupiah against foreign currency and the liberalisation of price policy. The result of all this is the creation of obstructions in the productive sector and a heavy pressure on the purchasing power of the people as the prices of everyday essentials soar.

The statement made by the Government before the Gotong Royong Parliament on 11th December last admitting that the 26th May regulations have been a failure was greeted with feelings of relief by the entire people. This admission made by the Government should be speedily followed up by regulations aimed at restoring the principle of guided economy, at strengthening the state sector as the leading sector of the economy, at strengthening again and expanding the system of distribution, at directing attention primarily to the productive sector, including production for domestic consumption as well as for export, and at concretely improving the living conditions of the working people which have deteriorated so seriously. It is only if the Government does all this that it will be possible to say that the Government is really and truly putting an end to the 26th May, 1963 deviation and implementing the Dekon.

(b) THE 1963 AND 1964 STATE BUDGETS

The fact that the 26th May economic regulations are an obstacle to economic and financial developments is reflected too in the State Budgets for 1963 and 1964, particularly after having been in practice for only a few months. The special feature of the 1963 and 1964 budgets is that state expenditure and revenue is no longer expressed in hundreds of millions or tens of milliards but in hundreds of milliards of rupiahs. *Planned state expenditure* for 1963 is Rp. 305,618.2 million for 1963 and Rp. 392,777.1 million for 1964. These amounts will in fact be exceeded because there are many "pro memori" items to be fixed subsequently and also because of the many subsidies not originally accounted for. *Planned state revenue* is Rp. 272,024 million for 1963 and Rp. 391,001 million for 1964. In practice, revenue will be less than planned because of the many exemptions that have been granted following demands made by state enterprises and other government enterprises for exemption exempted from the obligation to pay the HPN levy. The Government itself has admitted that this budget indeed cannot be realised with the result that the deficit for 1963 which was estimated at Rp. 33,594.2 million will be far exceeded, and it may even be as much as twice or three times that amount.

Basically the figures for state expenditures are extremely high but this is not because of an expansion in the level of economic construction of the state sector; it is only because of the rise in prices as a result of the 26th May economic regulations. Thus the outlay is very high but it is still not sufficient to meet the actual requirements of the state sector in order even to maintain the level of operations let alone to raise it. State revenue

has been planned far too high thus bearing very severely on the consumers who are compelled to pay very high prices. Such a high level of state revenue cannot be realised because the community, both the state as well as private sectors, are quite incapable of going so high. It will not be possible to reach the aim of surmounting the deficit in this way, and indeed it is not possible to attain this objective in one go; it can only be attained by *a concrete plan for an increase in production and a realistic and carefully worked out financial plan from year to year.*

The willingness of the Government to reconsider the State Budget for the years 1963 and 1964 in line with its intention to alter the 26th May regulations is something that should be appreciated. This willingness can only be of any significance if it is based on the principles established in the Dekon and in Resolution No. 1, 1963 of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS).

(c) ECONOMIC CONFRONTATION WITH "MALAYSIA"

The CPI has already expressed its opinion as regards political and economic confrontation with "Malaysia". This was done in the proposals made by the CC of the CPI to the Executive Council of the National Front entitled: *"Continue the Confrontation with 'Malaysia' by Crushing the Counter-Revolution and Returning to the Dekon".* The President's Decision to sever economic relations with "Malaysia", especially with Singapore and Malaya (Penang), is a very important step in eliminating Indonesia's economic dependence upon these British colonial territories. This signifies a loss of very enormous profit for the monopoly capitalists and the com-

pradores in Singapore and Malaya, which have up to now been traditional intermediaries in the trade of Indonesia's export products.

Our present tasks in connection with consolidating the economic measures taken against "Malaysia" are basically as follows: (1) eliminating dependence upon Singapore and Malaya by shifting the markets for our exports to Indonesia. The measures to shift the markets to Indonesia must be combined with the principle of direct trade relations with the countries that use our exports and the countries that produce our imports. (2) in order to be able to carry this line out successfully, the decisions of the Executive Council of the National Front for the immediate replacement of the 26th May, 1963 economic regulations and for a retooling of the state apparatus, in particular that involved in economic and financial questions, must be speedily put into practice.

There are some people who think that, in order to successfully wage economic confrontation with "Malaysia" we should not hesitate to make an alliance with anyone, even "with the devil" and, with this slogan, they are now busily directing their attention towards the Dutch imperialists in order that they may begin once again to play a role in our export and import channels. Such co-operation between "Indonesian devils" and "Dutch devils" is certainly not approved of by the Indonesian people. It is not correct to think that in order to wage confrontation with one imperialism, the Indonesian people must run into the embrace of another imperialism. Dutch imperialism is the "devil" that has the greatest experience of all in deceiving and draining away the wealth of the Indonesian people.

Some persons who have economic interests with the capitalists in Singapore and Malaya are greatly perturbed and are urging that transit trading centres be set up in other places abroad such as Colombo, Manila and Bangkok. While these efforts are going on, other efforts are being made to demand that free ports be established in Indonesia in order to transfer Singapore's role as a transit trading centre to Indonesia. All this shows just how hard various circles are working to make profit for themselves out of the severance of economic relations with Singapore and Malaya.

The interests of certain national capitalists are closely linked up with the establishment of *free ports* (port areas which are exempted from customs obligations), *free trade zones* (specified areas in ports that are exempted from customs obligations) and *bonded warehouses* (warehouses and premises where goods may be stored free from the levying of customs duties), which constitute a completely irresponsible liberalisation of the economy. Liberalisation of the economy is the line taken by the US Team of Economic Experts which visited Indonesia in 1961 and which drew up its findings in the so-called Humphrey Report. Transferring the market from Singapore and Malaya must not be allowed to mean transferring the role of Singapore and Malaya as a transit centre to other places abroad. Neither must it mean transferring this role to Indonesia by for instance setting up bonded warehouses, free ports and free trade zones. Basically, a bonded-warehouse, a free port and a free trade zone are the same thing, namely, areas specified for free trade which are exempted from customs obligations; they only differ in magnitude.

Liberalisation of the economy in the form of establishing free ports and such like is a reflection of the weakness of our economy which only bases itself upon the provision of services to foreign countries. If this is really put into effect, it will no longer be possible to effect export and import planning and guided economy which bases itself upon planned construction. Such liberalisation of the economy will certainly have the effect of increasing foreign subversive activities.

The Government's policy of taking control of the enterprises owned by citizens of so-called "Malaysia" and persons who reside in that territory should be preceded by measures to take over all the British-owned enterprises in Indonesia because it is Britain that is the real architect of "Malaysia".

(d) THE PENETRATION OF IMPERIALIST CAPITAL INTO INDONESIA

The chief characteristic of foreign imperialist power or influence in Indonesia is foreign monopoly capital investment. Ever since almost all capital owned by the Dutch colonialists was taken over and placed under state control, the possibility has been opened for providing a basis for the state sector of the economy which should, in line with the Manipol, hold the commanding position. But the bureaucrat-capitalists, the compradores and those persons who have been "mis-appointed" as well as the mis-managers, have severely damaged the state sector of the economy by eating away at state wealth in various ways. And after having done all this, they then spread propaganda to the effect that the enterprises that have been nationalised are not efficient, not profitable, and the best thing would be, they say, to let

private interests take over. In this way, they become the spokesmen of the US imperialists who have stipulated liberalisation of Indonesia's economy as the condition for obtaining economic "aid" from the USA.

The main form of liquidation of the remnants of imperialism is the liquidation of the remaining investments of foreign monopoly capital and not opening up the possibility for new foreign capital investments in any form whatsoever. But the facts that we now face are quite the reverse. The oil companies owned by the US imperialists, Caltex and Stanvac, as well as Shell which is owned by Anglo-Dutch capital, should, according to the previous contracts, have completed their operations in 1960. Nevertheless, the step that has been taken is not to take over these oil companies that produce on an average 25% of Indonesia's annual export earnings, but the conclusion of new contracts in the form of "contractorships" which mean the continuation of foreign monopoly capital under a new name. In fact the number of foreign oil companies has been increased from three to six with the establishment of companies owned by PANAM (Pan American), CAOC (California Asiatic Oil Company) and TOPC (Texaco Overseas Petroleum Company). Based on these contractorships, the foreign oil companies have been granted concession rights for 30 years only in order to be able to obtain dollars from these oil companies. The principle of chasing after dollars is an infringement of the line of production-sharing based on credits in accordance with the decisions adopted by the KOTOE (Supreme Economic Command). In this way, Indonesia's dependence upon foreign monopoly capital, particularly US capital, in the petroleum industry has

increased and the opportunity has been provided for this to last for a long period of time.

This "contractorship" takes its model from what is known as the "Argentine pattern" whereas only a few weeks ago, Argentina itself created a "new pattern" by annulling "contractorships" which in their experience are extremely harmful to their national interests. Indonesia, whose domestic and foreign policy is more advanced than Argentina's, should speedily annul these harmful and shameful "contractorships".

(e) BACK TO THE DEKON AS THE ONLY WAY TO CONTINUE WITH ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Since the deviation from the Dekon has become a fact, it is now our duty to put an end to this deviation and to urge the Government speedily to return to the Dekon in order to tackle the present economic difficulties. The path that must be taken is the speedy introduction of economic measures by implementing the decisions of the Executive Council of the National Front on 5th-6th September, 1963 and by making effective and consolidating the severance of economic relations with so-called "Malaysia". Basically, the measures that need to be taken immediately are as follows:

(1) End the 26th May, 1963 deviation by taking measures that encourage an increase in production, giving priority to incentives for the productive forces, the workers and peasants as well as productive businessmen and not in the first place to the exporters. The HPN levies should be abolished and the only levy imposed should be import duties on basic necessities and requirements for industry and transportation without burdening the people.

(2) Imports must be planned. The present classification of import goods must be completely overhauled so as not to obstruct the productive sector and so as not to impose added burdens on the daily living requirements of the people.

(3) The Government should control the exports of major products, in particular the strong products, and those weak products which are already controlled by the State. Exports of other products may be handled by private companies while all procedural delays should be removed, the check-price system modified and transportation improved.

(4) Rates and prices that were increased should be cut again, including the rates for land and sea transportation. Supplies of rice and spare parts should be adequate and the prices reduced. A planned price policy in line with the MPRS Resolution No. 1, 1963 should be pursued.

(5) The state sector of the economy must hold the position of leadership in the country's economic activities. But this is only possible if the state trading corporations and the other state corporations are run really efficiently, and for this purpose organisation and personnel should be retooled and adjustments made in their duties and powers. Presidential Regulation No. 7, 1963 regarding the state trading corporations which was introduced on 26th May, 1963 should be speedily annulled.

(6) In order to make it posible to plan imports, there should be proper co-ordination between imports and exports and the distribution of goods on the domestic market. For this purpose, a National Export-Import Council should be set up as well as a Nation-

al Distribution Council with a composition that reflects national Gotong Royong with Nasakom as the core.

(7) Draw up a realistic State Budget, that is to say, in line with the aim of raising production and the operational capacity of the state sector and solving the question of state revenue out of productive activity. State revenue and expenditure must reflect a realistic state budget which is not based on the 26th May economic regulations as is the case with the present 1963 and 1964 budgets.

(8) Within the framework of waging economic confrontation with "Malaysia", the market for our export products must be shifted to Indonesia by the establishment of Trade Centres at certain ports. For this purpose, adequate port facilities must be built with the necessary equipment for upgrading, sorting, packing and other processes. The liberalisation of the economy by the establishment of free ports, free trade zones and bonded warehouses must be stopped because this is quite contrary to state policy and it is a threat to security and to the sovereignty of the state.

(9) Shifting export markets to Indonesia must be combined with the establishment of direct trade relations with the foreign users of our exports. Economic co-operation must be developed with the New Emerging Forces. Trade teams must speedily be sent to the NEFO countries, especially to the Socialist countries, in order to further develop bilateral trade relations on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual benefit. These trade teams must

be composed of Manipolists about whose integrity there is no doubt.

It is necessary to stress once again that all the efforts to implement the Dekon in order to tackle the economic difficulties will not succeed without implementation of the decisions of the Executive Council of the National Front at its meeting on 5th-6th September, 1963 for the retooling of the state apparatus, and in particular for the speedy establishment of a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core.

Only if all this is carried out will the possibility be opened up to bring about some improvement in the living conditions of the people and to make a real start with economic construction. Construction in West Irian also depends very much on whether all this is done or not.

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This in brief is the CPI's attitude with regard to various domestic problems, in particular regarding the Kerdja Cabinet's new Three-Point Programme. Indonesian Communists are convinced that this Three-Point Programme is realistic and can be realised as long as certain minimum conditions are fulfilled, namely: *consistent implementation of land reform, an end to the 26th May deviation as speedily as possible, the complete stamping out of the counter-revolution, the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core, and the democratisation of the system of government.*

Regarding democratisation of the system of government we continue to demand the speedy holding of democratic elections for the People's Consultative Assembly, Parliament and the Regional Legislative Assem-

blies. Until such time as these elections have been held, the Gotong Royong Parliament should be activised more and for this purpose it is necessary to hold direct consultations between the President and the leadership of the Gotong Royong Parliament, and to establish good co-operation between the Ministers and Parliament for the creation of revolutionary laws that conform with the Manipol, the Dekon and the decisions and resolutions of the MPRS. District chiefs and deputy chiefs and other important officials whose "minds and hearts are rusty and cannot bring themselves into line with the Manipol" should be replaced by Manipolists; the leaderships of the Gotong Royong Regional Legislative Assemblies, all members of the Executive Boards and the various Councils who are in any way connected with government, with the economy and with cultural affairs, must be Nasakomised. Government offices and departments must not be allowed to become nests of Nasakom-phobes.

In order to make the idea of Nasakom indigestible, some criminal reactionaries spread the slander that the Communists demand that all departments, offices and even the leadership of the Armed Forces, should be Nasakomised.

On the question of Nasakomisation of the state apparatus, the Communists are not "extremists", but consider the matter in a mature fashion. On the basis of mature consideration, the Communists do not propose anything extreme but only propose something quite reasonable, namely, the establishment of a new State Apparatus Retooling Committee which reflects national Gotong Royong with Nasakom as the core and is directly led by President Sukarno in accordance with point 34 of the Dekon. This new-style Retooling Committee should be

the one to make suggestions to the President in order to ensure that the leadership of the entire state apparatus is in harmony with the victorious march of the concept of national unity based on Gotong Royong with Nasakom as the core.

In West Irian, too, democratic life must be established. Some crazy people think that there should be a "political quarantine"; they dream of a "political stabilisation pilot project" in West Irian without political parties and without newspapers. These persons are insulting and besmirching the struggle of the people who made great sacrifices in the fight for the return of the territory of West Irian to the territory administrated by the Republic of Indonesia, possessor of the 1945 Constitution, the Political Manifesto, the Pantja Sila and the Nasakom.

Only healthy democratic life can bring about a rise in the cultural standard and political consciousness of the people of that region so as to be able to catch up with the levels already reached by the Indonesian people in other parts of the country. We welcome the steps taken by the Government to dissolve all Dutch-made political parties and together with that, we express the hope and raise the demand that the so-called "political quarantine" be lifted so that normal political party life and organisational life can be introduced in West Irian.

All the minimum conditions for the implementation of the Three-Point Programme of the Kerdja Cabinet that have been mentioned above are contained in many state documents and the decisions of the Executive Council of the National Front. None of them is strange or excessive. All these non-strange and non-excessive things must be fulfilled as the condition for implementation of the Three-Point Programme of the Kerdja Cabinet.

II

CONTINUE TO CRUSH IMPERIALISM AND REVISIONISM!

(1) THE STRUGGLE TO CRUSH IMPERIALISM IS CONTINUING TO ADVANCE ON ALL FRONTS

Dear Comrades!

It is not without reason if, in the very first sentences of this report on the international situation, we stress that the international situation is very favourable indeed for the growth of the revolutionary forces of the people throughout the world and that it is getting worse and worse for the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, the revisionists and other reactionaries throughout the world.

The forces of the socialist camp are continuing to grow. Even though some difficulties have arisen in the relationships between the Socialist countries, the unity between the peoples of these countries remains good. Whatever may happen, in face of the common enemy, imperialism, the peoples of all countries, not excluding the Socialist countries, cannot be led into abusing and abandoning unity. All the people throughout the whole world are more steadfastly than ever joining hands and more resolutely waging a struggle in one ever mightier and more invincible rank.

The struggle of the people of the world against imperialist policy, against the policy of aggression, subversion and intervention, for national independence, democracy, world peace and socialism is continuously developing and advancing. The revolutionary movement

of the peoples of the world is spearheaded against US imperialism which is today the centre of world reaction, the backbone of imperialism, the main bulwark of aggression and war and has therefore become the most criminal and most dangerous common enemy of the people of the world.

It has become very clear that the imperialist "global strategy" has been meeting with failure and defeats everywhere. The balance of forces within the imperialist camp is undergoing profound changes.

The capitalist countries of Europe, in particular the six countries of the European Common Market, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, are further strengthening their position in order to free themselves from US domination, both economically and politically, as well as militarily, for example on the question of nuclear strategy. There are of course contradictions between these six countries themselves. The ECM which continues to refuse entrance to Great Britain is not making things easier for the import of US goods into Europe. On the other hand, the United States is finding it more and more difficult to stand up to the competition from European goods in the US domestic market itself.

The contradiction in military affairs centres around the question of a NATO multilateral nuclear force. All these countries are holding stubbornly to their own opinion. In particular, France has turned down the demand of the US and is continuing to build its own nuclear force. The intra-imperialist conflict over the question of the composition, command and control of the NATO multilateral nuclear force is nothing but a reflection in

military affairs of the contradictions between the imperialists which are becoming sharper from day to day.

In the *United States* itself, the situation is nowhere near so simple and so good as the Washington advertisements would have us believe. Unemployment still fails to decline. In fact the contrary is happening. The US Government itself admits that unemployment was 5.3 per cent of the labour force in 1960-61 and it has now risen to more than 6 per cent. If it is recalled that automation results each year in loss of work for 1.5 million workers and that the increase in the labour force rises far more rapidly than the increase in employment opportunities, then it can be stated for certain that unemployment figures will rise even further.

Through means of the advertising system which operates on a tremendous scale, through television, the press and the radio, people are continuously being pushed into making purchases, and this, together with the system of consumer's credit which is very easily available from the banks and which is also advertised on a very wide scale, keeps the domestic market at a high level by artificial means.

Goods used by the consumers are for the greater part not the property of the user but the property of the banks which provide the credit. This fake prosperity does not give the consumers a feeling of security because they realise that, although they seem to be living a life of luxury, owning a house, car, household equipment, all this is only because they have mortgaged their own labour power for 30 years or more ahead in order to obtain bank credit. If something happens before the end of that time which results in their losing their employment and salary, the bank will take back all its property and they

will then live in poverty without a house, car or household equipment, without anything. Today, the banks not only own and control the companies and factories but they also directly own and control the mass of the consumers.

The very high living costs in the USA which mean very high production costs for US-manufactured goods are the main difficulty being faced by US industry in order to be able to compete on the international free market. US exports can be maintained only because of the large amount of foreign "aid" doled out which in fact aids America's own industry. In all branches of industry, trade and transportation, the US would not be able to stand the competition from other countries in the free market were it not for the system of subsidies and assistance and all kinds of protection and preference given by the US Government and financed by its budget.

In such circumstances, US goods in the US domestic market are finding it more and more difficult to face the competition of goods from West Germany, Japan and other countries whose products are cheaper than US products.

The major domestic problem in the USA is that of the 20 million Negroes who are waging an ever more powerful struggle for equality of rights with the white people. The position of the Negro population in US society today does not differ basically from what it was a century ago. They encounter discrimination in all fields of life, in educational opportunities, in labour opportunities, in the opportunity to occupy positions of leadership within the government and business, and elsewhere. Whereas the salesmen in a shop will be white, the porters carrying goods or cleaners wiping the tables and floors will be

Negroes. Whereas the barbers are white, the shoe-shine boys will usually be Negroes. Whereas the lieutenants are white, the Negroes will be common soldiers or at the very best rise to the rank of corporal. Though the rate of unemployment is more than 6 per cent of the total US labour force, the rate among Negro workers is as high as 13.3 per cent; in fact, in Chicago the population of which is 13 per cent Negro, the unemployment among the Negro workers is 40 per cent. In the United States of America which boasts of being "the champion of democracy", the position of the Negroes is just about the same as the position of the "natives" in our country in former times. The Negro question is in essence a question of colonial oppression, it is a national question. It is not surprising that the struggle of the Negro people is now getting broader and broader.

The anti-segregation struggle against racial discrimination and exploitation, for equal rights and independence has never before in the history of the American Negroes reached the present scale. It is in the interests of the monopoly capitalists to perpetuate racialism in order to preserve the Negro people as an oppressed people, as a source of cheap labour, and in order to separate the black-skinned workers from the white-skinned workers. The US Government consistently refuses to take effective measures to put a stop to the racial troubles that are raging in the USA. The struggle of the Negro people is therefore an inseparable part of the mighty struggle against US imperialism. What this struggle requires is a correct and revolutionary political leadership because it is only in this way that the basis upon which exploitation and oppression of the Negro people within US society is founded can be altered and overthrown.

The Indonesian people have a great feeling of respect and deep sympathy for the courageous struggle now being waged by the Negro people in the USA and express their solidarity with it. This attitude has also been clearly expressed by President Sukarno. The propaganda being spread to create the impression that the Kennedy Administration previously, and now the Lyndon Johnson Administration opposes racial discrimination is nothing but unadulterated nonsense and it is only the very naive that can be taken in by this. The Indonesian youth who went to the US Embassy in Djakarta some time ago very effectively unmasked this nonsense when they said: if you are really against racial discrimination, then withdraw all US troops from Asia and these troops will certainly be able to crush the racialists.

In *Asia, Africa and Latin America,* US imperialism is being dealt blow after blow.

In *Southeast Asia,* the US imperialists have suffered a number of serious defeats.

The US imperialists and the South Vietnam reactionaries are waging a "special war" in South Vietnam. However many soldiers and generals they may send and however far and wide they may spread their poisonous chemicals around the countryside, the US imperialists and the South Vietnam reactionaries are continuously suffering defeat. The struggle of the South Vietnam people proves once again that US military power is not unlimited and not invincible, but that on the other hand, the forces of the people are indeed invincible. About 75 per cent of the entire territory of South Vietnam is now controlled by the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. The people of South Vietnam refuse to be subjugated by the bestial and bloody oppression of

the US imperialists together with their lackeys, be it Ngo Dinh Diem who was overthrown and murdered by the US imperialists themselves, or Nguyen Ngoc Tho, that "former Vice-President" who has now been elevated to the position of "Prime Minister".

The great defeats suffered by the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime until in the end it was overthrown by the US imperialists themselves, shows that it is no longer possible for the US imperialists and the reactionaries in South Vietnam to evade final defeat. The fate suffered by Ngo Dinh Diem is a good warning for those who want to become imperialist puppets. As soon as events prove that a puppet is no longer able to withstand the people's resistance, the puppet is thrown onto the rubbish heap and replaced by a new one.

Seeing that they are becoming more and more harried in South Vietnam, the US imperialists are once again trying to create trouble in one of the other countries in the Indo-China peninsula. In *Laos,* soon after the assassination of Foreign Minister Quinim Pholsena, Washington murdered several other Laotian officials, including patriotic officers, and sparked off intensive armed conflicts anew.

By making use of the Laotian reactionaries, the US imperialists are doing everything they can to create a split and to provoke armed conflicts among the neutralist troops in Xieng Khouang and the Plain of Jars. These criminal and brazen attempts are aimed at the step by step elimination of the neutralist group led by Prince Souvana Phouma from Laotian political life, at isolating and removing the patriotic Neo Lao Haksat forces, destroying the National Coalition Government about which the three Princes have already reached agreement and

which incorporates the three main political forces, and putting an end to peace, sovereignty and independence in Laos.

The peace-loving Indonesian people, the peace-loving people of Asia, and the peace-loving people of the whole world cannot remain indifferent to all these disgraceful activities of the US imperialists in Laos. They refuse to stand by and watch the US imperialists trampling at will upon the Geneva agreements.

Another country, *Cambodia,* which has a small territory but whose people have great courage, is also not free from US imperialist subversion. Mobilising the Cambodian counter-revolutionaries through the so-called "Khmer Serei" ("Free Cambodia") movement, through an attempted coup d'etat in addition to the utilisation of "aid", the US imperialists are striving to gain pre-eminence in Cambodia. All these efforts have met with failure.

The courage displayed by Cambodia in unilaterally putting an end to US economic, cultural and military "aid" as from 1st January, 1964, is a very correct and striking step. It was none other than a Prince whose name is Norodom Sihanouk who said that it is better to be poorer but more independent, and even a small child knows that this rejection of US "aid" is beneficial. This is an example, in particular for those who are not princes, of how a country that wishes to remain independent must act against the power-hungry, desperate US imperialists.

Developments in *Burma* should also have our attention. It was previously a good thing that General Ne Win, who heads the Burmese Revolutionary Council, held negotiations with the Democratic National United Front, the members of which are the Communist Party of Burma,

the Karen National Unity Party, the New Mon State Party, the Karen Progressive Party and the Chin Supreme Organisation, in an effort to restore internal peace.

It is a pity that these negotiations have ceased. The Communist Party of Burma has expressed its willingness to make the necessary concessions without sacrificing its Party rights in order to strive for the restoration of internal peace. The Communist Party of Burma has expressed the hope that the Burmese Revolutionary Council will reopen the negotiations on the basis of reaching agreements with each one of the parties separately even though negotiations with the Front have been called off.

It is very important, in the interest of increasing the success of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Southeast Asia, for these negotiations to be reopened and for this conflict to be settled to the satisfaction of all. The arrests that have been made recently in Burma make it more difficult to achieve national peace and are naturally harmful to Burma. The Communists and working people of Indonesia therefore demand the release of the arrested democrats and hope that it will be possible to reopen the negotiations.

One of the important weapons being utilised by the US imperialists in the interests of their aggressive policy in Asia is *India.* The Nehru Government has taken measures that conform with the needs of US imperialism by making islands available for its military bases, such as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, by providing its land territory, and sea and air space for use by the USA for its military bases and for its operations in Asia. India has now openly become the US watch-dog in Asia and a fifth column within the ranks of the Asian-African countries. The disgraceful stand being taken by the In-

dian Government reached a climax when it stated its approval for the expansion of the operational area of the US Seventh Fleet to include the Indonesian Ocean. This, then, is "non-aligned", pro-US Nehru.

In order to hide its despicable alliance with US imperialism and to parade as being "non-aligned", the Nehru Government accepts economic and military aid from the Soviet Union. Nehru cunningly utilises Soviet aid in order to conceal his position as US watch-dog, in order to clean his hands which are dirty with aggression against China and with the widespread arrests of genuine Communists in India. But this cannot make politically-conscious people believe that India is still pursuing a policy of non-alignment. Soviet economic assistance and Soviet military assistance being received in the form of helicopters, tanks, a factory for the manufacture of Mig-21 fighters, a guided missile factory, and the like, does not in any way lessen India's alliance with US imperialism, it cannot shake India from the US embrace; on the contrary, their collaboration is becoming even closer.

It is necessary for the Indonesian Government to pay serious attention to these dangerous actions being taken by the Nehru Government. The deeds of the Nehru Government which, in recent years, has never wavered in its betrayal of the nation and in its suppression of the Indian people, are not only opposed by the Indian people but are also strongly condemned by the peoples of Asia and Africa, not excluding the Indonesian people.

In *Japan,* under the occupation of US imperialist armed troops, the people's movement to smash imperialist plans to turn Japan into a nuclear war base, is becoming more powerful, it is broadening and including all sections of the people. The Communist Party of Japan stands in

the foremost ranks in this mighty anti-US campaign which has the firm solidarity of the peoples of other countries of the world.

The outstanding progress made by the Communist Party of Japan at the recent general elections (an increase of about 500,000 votes) proves that the line of the CPJ is correct and testifies to the growing links between this fraternal Party and the masses of the working people in its country. At the same time, the recent contemptible attempt on the life of the Chairman of the CPJ, Comrade Sanzo Nosaka, further points to the weakness of the US imperialists and the Japanese monopoly capitalists.

In the continent of *Africa,* where various countries are passing through different types of political development, the struggle against colonialism, old and new, is continually developing, and takes the form of both political as well as armed struggle.

Today, of the 59 countries and territories in Africa, 36 have already obtained independence of a variety of standards, and these countries include more than 85 per cent of the population of African and more than 80 per cent of the entire territory of Africa.

The *Algerian* path, that is, the path of armed struggle, has opened a new page in the history of the anti-imperialist struggle of the African people and has given inspiration to the struggle of the peoples of the entire continent. This path differs from that taken by many other African countries which are only independent in name but which are in essence still under the domination of the imperialists.

The Algerian path is now being taken by several African countries such as *Angola* and (Portuguese) *Guinea,* and also by other countries.

In greeting the newly independent countries of Africa, we must be able to differentiate between those whose independence really has content and those who only have fake independence. If not, it is very likely that we shall be applauding neo-colonialism à la "Malaysia".

In *Latin America,* the *Cuban* people right under the very nose of the United States has repeatedly smashed US attempts to launch aggression. The events during the past few months prove that the danger of imperialist aggression has not in any way been reduced. The heroic people of Cuba remain fully determined to defend the first free territory in the continent of America. Even though it faces continual aggression from the USA, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is becoming more and more consolidated and its revolutionary influence is spreading more and more to the other countries of Latin America. Cuba is one of the living testimonies of how criminal are those people who speak fine words about US imperialism, and of how invincible the people are once they have taken a unanimous resolve to be free and to build Socialism.

The revolutionary situation in Latin America is very favourable to the people. It is for this reason that the US imperialists nurture a deep hatred for Cuba which is the beacon for the revolutions in Latin America, whose rays illumine the national democratic revolutions of the peoples of Latin America who are continually attaining new peaks in their revolutionary struggle.

A new situation has arisen in the national democratic movements of the Latin American people. Armed struggles against US monopoly capital and domestic counter-revolutionary regimes and dictators, such as is indicated by Venezuela, are developing and making rapid progress.

The people's guerrilla forces of the Venezuela National Liberation Army which was born in the process of a peasants' upsurge to seize land from the big landlords, have spread far and wide and are fighting not only in the villages and in the mountainous regions but also in several towns of its various states, and they are even operating in the vicinity of the Venezuelan capital, Caracas.

The armed struggle against the Government of Betancourt who has now been replaced by his close friend, Raoul Leoni, which viciously defends the interests of US monopoly capital, of the compradores and the latifundists, not only has strong roots among the Venezuelan people but also has the ever increasing and more powerful support of the peoples of the other Latin American countries.

In *Argentina*, President Arturo Illia, under the pressure of the absolute majority of the Argentine people, has signed three decrees annulling contracts concluded by the previous Frondisi Government with 13 foreign oil companies. It has been proven that these contracts were detrimental to the country's sovereignty and a threat to its security in view of the fact that the foreign companies possess plans and information about Argentina's oil deposits, and the contracts have therefore been proclaimed illegal and invalid. What a correct step this is! The intimidations of President Kennedy when he was still alive, of Deputy Secretary of State Harriman, of US Ambassador McLintock and others did not in any way shake Argentina in its determination to take this bold step. Just in the same way as the "Baghdad Pact" met its miserable end in Baghdad, so the "Argentine pattern" has been buried in Argentina.

Argentina's experiences should indeed be taken carefully into account by the Indonesian Government and heeded as a warning to certain circles in Indonesia who are always flirting with foreign monopoly capital and for ever parading the "Argentine pattern" as something to be copied and practised in Indonesia. They should realise that, for the sake of Indonesia's sovereignty, security and independence, it should not be the US-manufactured "Argentine pattern" in the field of oil domination but the Argentine pattern made by Argentina itself that should be taken as the example in Indonesia.

The New Emerging Forces have scored other tremendous victories in the struggle against world imperialism. We can see manifestations of these victories in the American Continental Conference of Solidarity with Cuba that was held in *Niteroi,* Brazil, in March this year, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conferences that were held in *Moshi,* Tanganyika, and in *Nicosia,* Cyprus, in February and September this year, and the Summit Conference of African states held in *Addis Ababa,* Ethiopia, last May.

We can see other victories that have been scored from the successful convening of the Asian-African Journalists' Conference, the Executive Committee Meeting of the Asian-African Writers' Conference, the Asian-Pacific Dock Workers' Conference, the Preliminary Session of the Asian-African Workers' Conference all of which took place in our country this year.

Comrades,

At this present Plenum of the CC, we still underline and strongly urge that a Second Bandung Conference should be held as soon as possible. The need for this is

felt today even more than in past years, in view of the development in the struggle of the Asian-African people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism since the First Bandung Conference which was held in April 1955.

The Indonesian people reject the attempts that are being inspired by the modern revisionists and Nehru to hold a Second "Non-Alignment" Conference. This is nothing but an attempt to sabotage and torpedo the efforts being made for the convocation of a Second Bandung Conference, a criminal attempt to murder the Bandung spirit. The efforts being made to hold a so-called "Non-Alignment" Conference are also an attempt to torpedo the concept of NEFO co-operation.

Through the intermediary of President Sukarno, the Indonesian people have launched the idea of holding a *Conference of the New Emerging Forces* (Conefo) but this idea has not been accorded a satisfactory welcome from other countries. It is evident that the Second Bandung Conference is more pressing than the Conefo because it is necessary to consolidate and develop the anti-imperialist struggle in Asia and Africa. But for this there must be greater courage in opposing the attempts at sabotage by the imperialists and their agents, particularly the modern revisionists and Nehru with their "Non-Alignment" Conference scheme.

This, then is a brief account and summary which shows that the struggle against imperialism is advancing on all fronts. The Indonesian people are marching in step with it and must more steadfastly play a positive role in pushing these revolutionary developments forward.

(2) IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA THERE IS A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION THAT IS CONTINUOUSLY SURGING FORWARD AND RIPENING

From the above account of the international situation it is clear that there are today four basic contradictions in the world, namely: (1) the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism (monopoly capitalism); (2) the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; (3) the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialists; and (4) the contradiction among the imperialists.

The first, second and third contradictions are class struggles to overthrow imperialist power and the capitalist system. The third contradiction is a contradiction between nations but if it is examined to its core, the struggle of an oppressed nation will only be completed altogether if the nation frees itself completely from imperialism and this is only possible if the nation has freed itself from the capitalist political and economic system, that is to say, if it has taken the path of Socialism. The consistent struggle of an oppressed nation, if thoroughly pursued, will definitely reach Socialism. This has been proven by the revolutions in Asia and the Cuban revolution in Latin America which is now building Socialism. Socialism in these countries is the logical continuation of the struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism.

It is indeed true that there is a difference in stage between the struggle of an oppressed nation for national independence, and the struggle for Socialism, but in a consistent struggle, there is no Chinese wall separating the two stages of this struggle. It is only those who have a "status quo" outlook, who do not consider that this

struggle is a process, short or long, who build a Chinese wall between the struggle of the oppressed nations and the struggle for Socialism.

The struggle of the oppressed nations for national independence is also in essence a struggle against the capitalist system, that is to say, against monopoly capitalism, and therefore it can only be fully successful if it is led by the proletariat. Lenin once stated that "the socialist revolution will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie — no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialism-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism". (V. I. Lenin, *The National Liberation Movement in the East*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 232.)

The fourth contradiction is a contradiction within one class and is not a contradiction between classes. It has been proven that the imperialists or the bourgeoisie are incapable of solving the contradictions within their own ranks with the result that there is constant contradiction between them. Despite the two world wars they launched, it has become apparent that they are unable to solve the contradictions within their own ranks. The contradiction between the imperialists or the bourgeoisie can only be solved if the working class and working people throughout the world have risen up and overthrown their power.

There is an inter-connection and mutual influence between these four contradictions. These four contradictions can only be solved if the people rise up under revolutionary leadership to completely overthrow bourgeois

power. Basically, the contradictions can only be solved in a revolutionary way.

The process of overthrowing the bourgeoisie is not a simple process; it is just as complicated as the process of overthrowing feudal power by the bourgeoisie; after capitalism came into power in various countries the restoration of feudalism repeatedly took place. This is why it is a great mistake to think that the restoration of capitalism cannot take place in Socialist countries. To think in this way means reducing vigilance and it is the same as people believing in the supernatural, who in essence think in a metaphysical way, since they proclaim something as being absolute. There is already one example: Yugoslavia which was formerly a Socialist country has now become capitalist even though it labels itself "Socialist". The material conditions for capitalism may not exist in a Socialist country but if the leadership of the Party of the working class in that country deviates, the restoration of capitalism can indeed take place. New capitalist elements can indeed grow in a Socialist country which can completely transform that country into a capitalist country such as has happened in Yugoslavia today. The Yugoslav experience provides us with a most useful lesson. This experience shows that the restoration of capitalism in a Socialist country starts with the degeneration of its political system; the Communist Party degenerates into a party with bourgeois ideology and the dictatorship of the proletariat degenerates into a bourgeois dictatorship.

These four contradictions are basic contradictions, that is to say, contradictions that determine the character of our present world. Among basic contradictions there are always *main or principal* contradictions that is to say,

contradictions that determine the situation and development of the other contradictions. The question of which are the main contradictions and what forms they take can undergo change in accordance with the period and the stage of development.

For instance, at the time of the Second World War, the main contradiction was the contradiction between the anti-fascist forces and the forces of fascism. The anti-fascist forces incorporated the Socialist country, the proletarian movement, the oppressed nations and some of the capitalist countries.

At this present time, there are two mighty currents of contradiction on a world scale, the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism (monopoly capitalism) and the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism. These two mighty currents unite in one great current of revolution against imperialism. These two contradictions are the main or principal contradictions in the world today.

We cannot say that the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism is not a main contradiction because some of the Socialist countries are waging a bitter struggle in all fields against imperialism. It is quite true that the final objective of US imperialism is to destroy the most powerful Socialist country, the one which possesses nuclear weapons, that is, the Soviet Union. The US imperialists will never like having another large nuclear country besides themselves. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are also Socialist countries whose state leaders are striving to eradicate or in the very least to gloss over the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism by speaking fine words about US imperialism, by praising the leaders of this foremost im-

perialist state, or in other ways. They say, for example, that world problems can be solved if there is co-operation between the two great powers, between a certain Socialist country and the USA; they say that Eisenhower is peace-loving, and what is even worse, after Kennedy's death they proclaimed him a peace hero, mourned deeply over his death and shed bitter tears. And now Johnson is considered as being the continuator of Kennedy's so-called peace-loving policy.

We are compelled to talk about this because the policy of speaking fine words about the US imperialists, among others by praising the leaders of that imperialist state, now being pursued by the leaders of certain Communist Parties in other countries has led to a difference of opinion between our Party and the leaders of these Communist Parties. We Indonesian Communists, and together with us all the Communist Parties in Southeast Asia as well as many more Communist Parties and other revolutionaries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are facing US aggression, intervention and subversion at every moment, either directly or indirectly. In various countries, the US imperialists have never ceased to perpetrate murder of human being, including children and old people. In such a situation, the leaders of some Communist Parties in other countries are saying that the leaders of the state responsible for these murders are "reasonable" and "peace-loving". We can understand it if, for the sake of political decency, statesmen sent congratulatory messages when Kennedy became President of the USA and sent messages of condolences when he died, but it is quite incomprehensible to us if there are Communists who regard the leader of a state that is the gendarme of international reaction as being "reasonable"

and "peace-loving". How is it that the leaders of a state that, since the moment the Second World War ended, has never for a single moment stopped waging aggression, intervention and subversions against other countries can be regarded as being "reasonable" and "peace-loving"? The politically conscious working people of Indonesia would spit on us Indonesian Communists if we were to speak like that; goodness only knows what the working people in South Vietnam, Venezuela, Angola, (Portuguese) Guinea and other countries would do if the Communists or revolutionaries in these countries were to speak like that, for these people are bearing arms in their hands. The humanitarian sentiments of a Communist are determined by his condemnation of imperialism and imperialist leaders, in particular of US imperialist leaders, and by his inexhaustible sympathy for the oppressed nations that are opposing the imperialists, particularly for those who are every single day experiencing the threat of aggression and murder at the hands of these imperialists. Hollow is the humanitarianism of those who praise the leaders of US imperialism and thereby weaken their class consciousness. Humanism is never "universal" — humanism is always class humanism.

Thus it cannot be denied that the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism is a main contradiction although the leaders of some Socialist states are trying to eradicate or at least gloss over this contradiction. It is precisely because these attempts are being made in the international Communist movement to eradicate or gloss over this contradiction that we must more actively than ever expose the criminal deeds of imperialism, in particular US imperialism.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism is a main or principal contradiction. This main contradiction exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There exists in these regions today a revolutionary situation that is continuously surging forward and becoming riper. Of course the sharpness of this contradiction varies from continent to continent and from country to country. Even in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America there are countries that are US satellites. But in general in these three continents such a revolutionary situation exists. In the case of some of the countries in these three continents it is only the people who are in contradiction with the imperialists, but in other cases the people and the government together are in contradiction with imperialism.

Since there is now a revolutionary situation that is continually surging forward and becoming riper in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the most principal contradiction of the two main or principal contradictions at the present time is the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism. The struggle of the peoples of these three continents is shaking imperialism to its foundations and seriously weakening it.

The main contradiction can also be in Europe and America if a mighty wave of revolution unfolds in these countries. Today this is not yet the case both because imperialism is still powerful in its own country as well as because of the influence of social-democracy and modern revisionism on the working-class movement in these regions. Some people are of the opinion that the main contradiction today is in capitalist Europe because it is in this part of the world that the proletarian revolution

is most likely to break out. This is a manifestation of "Europe-centrism", a variation of the dogmatic view of the proletarian revolution with which the opportunist parties of the Second International were afflicted. It was Lenin himself, creatively developing Marxism in the era of imperialism, who proved both theoretically as well as by the practice of the Great October Socialist Revolution that the revolution need not break out first in the most advanced capitalist countries but in the country where the chain of imperialism is the weakest. The 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution proved that the dogmatists were wrong. The Socialist revolutions in China, Korea and Vietnam which are agrarian countries took place before the Socialist revolution in advanced capitalist Europe. The same applies to Cuba, too. All this proves that Lenin is correct and that the dogmatists are wrong.

At the present time, the weakest link in the chain of imperialism is not in Europe or in North America or in Australia but in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is why the proletariat throughout the world must centre its attention on the revolution on these three continents. This is why, in order to consolidate the Socialist system, the most important task of all Socialist countries is to support the struggle of the peoples on these three continents. This is why the proletariat of Europe and North America as well as the Australian proletariat should feel that they have a stake in the victories of the revolutions of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. The victories of the peoples' revolutions of these three continents will greatly help the proletariat of Europe, North America and Australia to overthrow the capitalists in their own countries.

The colonial and semi-colonial countries, that is to say, the oppressed nations which are situated in Asia, Africa and Latin America, have populations which are composed for the greater part of peasants. Some Communists are of the opinion that if the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism is regarded as being a principal contradiction, then this will mean placing the peasants in the position of leading the revolution. Thus, there is a fear of the development of the peasant forces and there is a fear that the peasants will gain predominance over the workers. It appears superficially as if these people are preserving the leading role of the working class. But in actual fact, they are doubtful about the indispensability of working-class leadership. Communists need have no doubts whatsoever about the absolute necessity for the working class to occupy the leading role in the revolution because it has never happened and will never happen in history that a peasants' revolution can be victorious without the leadership of the working class. It has never happened and it will never happen that the peasant forces predominate over the workers and are thus not beneficial to the revolution.

Marx and Engels devoted great attention to the village and the colonial countries, that is to say, to the peasants. In his work *The Peasant Question in France and Germany,* Engels said among other things that in order to win victory, the party of the proletariat *"must become a power in the village"*.[1] [My italics — DNA.]

Lenin taught the same thing too. A Socialist revolution is deception pure and simple if it does not mobilise the peasants. Without mobilising the peasants, it is not

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[1] Retranslated from the Indonesian.

possible to unite the majority of the population and it is only by uniting the majority of the population that the possibility of reaching Socialism is opened up. This is what Lenin taught us. Thus if one is afraid of the development of the peasant forces and thinks that they will predominate over the workers and thus be disadvantageous, then one should not entertain any hopes about the revolution being victorious and the hegemony of the proletariat being established. To speak about the hegemony of the proletariat in the Socialist revolution is nonsense if one is afraid of the development of the peasant forces in the world.

There is an Indonesian proverb which says: "He who is afraid of being overrun by the tide should not live on the coast." If one is afraid of the awakening of the peasants, then there is no point thinking about the revolution.

On a world scale, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the village of the world, while Europe and North America are the town of the world. If the world revolution is to be victorious, there is no other way than for the world proletariat to give prominence to the revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that is to say, the revolutions in the village of the world. In order to win the world revolution, the world proletariat must "go to these three continents".

The imperialists are not weak in the town of the world, in Europe and North America, but they are weak in the village of the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is in this place of weakness that the imperialists must be and indeed are being fought with all possible strength, and the proletariat of the whole world, both where it has already won victory as well as where it has not yet won victory must give the greatest possible support to the

struggle against the imperialists on these three continents. The victory of the revolutions on these three continents will make it easier for the proletariat in the town of the world, that is, in Europe and North America, to overthrow imperialist power. This line is in conformity with the Marxist formulation that no nation that oppresses other nations can be free.

The "Europe centrist" viewpoint, the new variant of the dogmatic viewpoint of the Second International, should have been buried long ago because history has proven how erroneous it is both while Lenin was still alive as well as after his death. This is why we strongly deny the various accusations and slanders being levelled that giving prominence to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, or Asia and Africa, or Asia, Africa and Latin America is a rejection of Marxism-Leninism, that it is nationalist-chauvinist, separationist, racialist and goodness knows what else.

To extol the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is nothing more nor less than the purest possible implementation of Marxism-Leninism; it does not in the slightest way violate the principle of proletarian internationalism; it is in fact concrete realisation of proletarian internationalism. It is none other than the proletariat in Europe and North America that benefits, too, if the revolutions are victorious on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The proletariat in various countries of these three continents are defending proletarian internationalism with their blood and life and not just by speaking about it and certainly not by speaking in a way that expresses fear of the peasants; they are defending proletarian internationalism with full confidence in their historic role. The peasants

should not be feared but should be turned into an ally, and they are indeed the most reliable ally of the proletariat.

The class struggle waged by the workers in the advanced capitalist countries against the bourgeoisie in their own country is a great and vital source of revolutionary strength for the victory of the world socialist revolution. This is why the basic contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries will definitely become a main world contradiction. One important factor which makes it possible for the capitalists to maintain their power in the advanced capitalist countries is that social-democracy and modern revisionism still exert a great influence over the workers and make the working class the ideological captives of capitalism. It is only by stamping out social-democracy and modern revisionism and ejecting them from the working-class movement that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries will be able to unite the working class under the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and gather together all the revolutionary forces in these countries into a powerful united front for the defeat of capitalism. We are absolutely convinced that the time will come and a wave of proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries will put an end for ever to the life of capitalism throughout the world.

The proletariat of the whole world should joyfully welcome the ever surging forward and ripening revolutionary situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America; they should enthusiastically hail the fact that these three continents have become the arena of the most principal contradiction in the world, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism. The peasants in these

three continents do not want to take over the leadership from the proletariat; they ask to be led by the proletariat. But, in the course of bitter struggle to destroy imperialism, revisionist leadership will certainly be rejected out of hand in this region. It would be better for the peasants in this region to be led by revolutionary nationalists than being "led" by revisionists who pose as "Marxist-Leninists". If this happens, it is not the fault of the peasants but the fault of the deviationist "Marxist-Leninists".

In connection with the struggle for national independence, there are some people who incessantly proclaim that this struggle cannot be successful without the help of the Socialist countries. The purpose in doing this is to ensure that the Communists who are fighting for national independence should not dare to give expression to any opinion that differs from the official standpoint of a certain Socialist country for, were they to dare to do so, they would not get any help and they would not be victorious. It is because of this form of political blackmail that our Party needs to stress more strongly than ever a thing the truth of which is verified by dialectical materialism and which has already been proven by Lenin.

We must stress that it is the internal factor that causes a qualitative change to take place in anything, while the role of the external factor is only of a supplementary nature. The outbreak of the Indonesian revolution in August 1945 was not caused in the first place by assistance or stimulus from without but first and foremost because the internal factors were already ripe, namely, the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. A friend of ours in Europe, *Comrade Paul de Groot,* once said as follows: "The Indonesian people fought for their

national independence for years. But it was achieved only after the defeat of the Germans in Europe which also sealed the fate of Japan, because of the struggle of the working class in the Netherlands for an 'Indonesia free from the Netherlands now', because of the Soviet Union's assistance to Indonesia, because of the contradiction between America and the Netherlands over Indonesia." (Speech by Paul de Groot, *CPN over geschillen in de communistische wereldbeweging,* pages 8-9.) Thus, there is no evaluation of the internal factor of the struggle of the Indonesian people themselves as the primary guarantee for the victory of Indonesia's national independence struggle. With all our respects and gratitude to the Dutch proletariat for always helping the Indonesian revolution, we have to state that this opinion is not in conformity with dialectical materialism, that it is a subjective opinion.

It is none other than Lenin himself and the Great October Socialist Revolution which taught us that, if a people are united and have the resolute determination to wage a struggle and to win, then not only will it be possible to throw out imperialism but it will also be possible to overthrow the capitalist system. The Soviet Union was established by Lenin and the proletariat without the assistance of any Socialist country because the Soviet Union was the first Socialist country.

Our Party always stresses, in keeping with the teachings of Lenin, that the revolutionary struggle for national independence is inseparable from the revolutionary struggle throughout the whole world against imperialism and capital. But at the same time, our Party also stresses that the decisive factor for victory of the national independence struggle is the forces of the people in each of

the countries where a struggle for emancipation is being waged. *This is the reason why our Party educates its* members and the Indonesian people to have the courage to stand on their own two feet, to have confidence in their own strength, to possess the resolve, "ever forward, no retreat", the reason why it educates the people in the spirit of the red *banteng*.

The Socialist camp is the achievement of the struggle of the proletariat and the working people of the whole world. History has proven that the struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism has given support and strength to the establishment of the Socialist countries and the formation of the Socialist camp. There should be no question about the Socialist countries assisting the national independence struggle because this should be something quite automatic. A country is not a genuine Socialist country if it does not genuinely assist the struggle for national independence. Lenin declared that this assistance was a duty, that one of the demands of proletarian internationalism is that "a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie [should] be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the sake of overthrowing international capital". (V. I. Lenin, *The National Liberation Movement in the East*, p. 254.) The assistance rendered by a Socialist country to the struggle for national independence and against capital is in essence assistance to itself, because the more intensively these struggles rage, the more consolidated becomes the Socialist camp.

There are some people who say that what a newly independent country needs in order to achieve Socialism is economic assistance. They say that, with the economic

aid from the Socialist camp, the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa will be able to make the transition to Socialism. Therefore, above all else there must be "peace" in the world so that the Socialist countries can win in the economic competition with the capitalist countries. They speak about the "transition to Socialism" through "economic aid" and not through a profound change in the political system brought about by revolutionary means in the newly independent countries. This is the viewpoint of modern economism in the international Communist movement, a viewpoint which bases itself on the stand that economics and not politics determines everything, a viewpoint which emasculates and underrates the role of the revolutionary struggle of the people.

The viewpoint of modern economism also manifests itself in the idea of some people that the newly independent countries will make the transition to Socialism because they are encouraged by the example of socialist construction in the Socialist countries. According to this view, even though a country is led by the big bourgeoisie, such as India at the present time, it is possible for Socialism to be built. With such assertions, the modern economists are in essence calling upon the people in the newly independent countries to halt their revolutionary struggle and to rely completely upon economic aid from the Socialist countries while sitting by and gazing in wonderment at the economic construction in these countries. The modern economist viewpoint even goes so far as to make a call for economic "aid" from the imperialist countries, for instance, "aid" which they say would become available as a result of disarmament.

Classical economism is the viewpoint that rejects the need for an independent party of the proletariat, a viewpoint that makes the proletariat trail politically behind the bourgeoisie. Modern economism arose after the independent parties of the proletariat had come into existence and after some of them had come into power. In such circumstances, its role is to relegate the political parties of the proletariat in the Socialist countries into becoming an "economic management", and in the capitalist countries to make them the servants of the bourgeoisie, like for example the Dange clique in the Communist Party of India, and other Communist Parties that have become afflicted with social-democracy and revisionism.

Within the framework of opposing revisionism, we must oppose this modern economism with *a policy that gives pre-eminence to politics*, on the basis of the principle that *politics is the general.*

As regards aid given by the Socialist countries to newly independent countries, this should not be allowed to strengthen the position of a bourgeoisie that oppresses the proletariat and the revolutionary movement because such aid is not in conformity with proletarian internationalism; it is only in conformity with bourgeois internationalism.

We raise all these points with the purpose of cultivating good understanding, with the purpose of building stronger solidarity between the proletariat and their Marxist-Leninist Parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the proletariat and their Marxist-Leninist Parties in the capitalist countries as well as the people and their Marxist-Leninist Parties in the Socialist countries.

(3) SOUTHEAST ASIA IS ONE OF THE CENTRAL POINTS IN THE REGION OF MAIN CONTRADICTION

As has already been explained above, Asia, Africa and Latin America are regions of the principal or the most principal contradiction. Southeast Asia is situated in this region. Indonesia is situated in Southeast Asia, and therefore Indonesian Communists and other revolutionaries must devote very great attention to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

The imperialists are striving to turn Southeast Asia into a region of neo-colonialism, into a military base from which to attack Socialism, and to prevent the influence of the Socialist revolution from spreading from the North to the South.

But on the other hand, in a large part of Southeast Asia, the capitalist system has already been defeated and the Socialist system is standing firm and is continuously being consolidated (Chinese People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam). In this region there is also a revolutionary situation that is continuously surging forward and becoming riper where, ever since the Second World War, the national independence revolution and the Socialist revolution have continued to rage without stop accompanied by the gunfire of the weapons borne by revolutionary fighters, and where the Communist Parties have scored victories. The national bourgeoisie in Southeast Asia are in the process of growth in the political, economic and cultural fields in contrast with Europe, and they can therefore unite with the revolutionary movement. Even patriotic princes, such as Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, can openly play an active part in the struggle against US imperialism.

Because they are not afflicted with revisionism, the Communist Parties in Southeast Asia possess the necessary conditions to lead the workers, the peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals so as to raise high the banner of anti-imperialism, the banner of democracy and the banner of genuine peace.

Many imperialists or monopoly capitalists have interests in Southeast Asia, from big imperialists such as the USA, Great Britain, West Germany and Japan down to small ones such as Portugal, the Netherlands and others, with the result that there are many contradictions among the imperialists themselves and there is also brutal imperialist oppression. In this region there are also weak reactionary powers, there is the two-faced and weak national bourgeoisie, there are peoples who have a high level of political consciousness and numerous experiences of revolutionary struggle, including armed struggle.

The class struggle in Southeast Asia is raging bitterly; in some countries, there are political liberties, but at the same time there are the dangers of terrorism, counter-revolutionary coup d'etats and fascism. The peoples and Communist Parties in Southeast Asia must make use of all forms of struggle, armed struggle as well as non-armed struggle, parliamentary struggle as well as non-parliamentary struggle, and so on. All types of experience of class struggle exist in Southeast Asia. All Communist Parties must be able to make use of every form of struggle that exists in Southeast Asia in conformity with the requirements of the struggle in each respective country.

Southeast Asia is one of the central points in the region of main contradiction in the world.

Both objective as well as subjective conditions are excellent in this region. In order to win victory for the struggle of the oppressed nations in Southeast Asia, in order to break down the imperialist fortress which is already in very poor shape and very shaky, the struggle of one oppressed nation must have close links with that of the others. The revolutionary solidarity between these nations must be strengthened.

Indonesia's role is very important indeed in the struggle for national independence in Southeast Asia. This should be realised and understood because it places a very great responsibility on the shoulders of every Indonesian revolutionary, in particular the Communists. In Indonesia today there is no armed struggle such as is taking place for instance in South Vietnam. But it is a mistake to think that because of this, Indonesia's role in Southeast Asia is not very important. In Indonesia, it is not only the people but also the Government that is waging a struggle against imperialism, if necessary with arms, too. This latter is proven by the struggle that was waged against the "PRRI-Permesta" counter-revolution, the struggle to stamp out the Darul Islam-TII counter-revolution, the struggle for the liberation of West Irian from Dutch imperialism, and today, the struggle to crush "Malaysia".

With the upsurge in the wave of revolution in Southeast Asia, it is no longer possible to prevent the total destruction of imperialism in Southeast Asia headed by the USA. The movement for national independence in this region will definitely attain victories and will definitely develop into a mass struggle against capital. The collapse of the imperialist fortress in this region will constitute a mighty tidal wave overrunning imperialism,

it will be a great help to the development of the world Socialist revolution.

The Communist Parties in Southeast Asia that are still waging a struggle for national liberation have the same basic tasks: (1) to draw over the broadest possible mass of the people and to organise them in a united national front; (2) to penetrate as far as possible into the villages in order to build an alliance of workers and peasants; (3) to strengthen the Party's leadership of the broad masses of the people and to be skilful at making use of all forms of struggle; and (4) to strengthen the co-operation between the peoples and Communist Parties of Southeast Asia. These are the *four amulets* with which to overthrow the *four demons* in Southeast Asia, imperialism, feudalism, compradore capitalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The victory of the Indonesian revolution will signify a mighty break-through in the fortress of imperialism, it will signify a great stride forward in the anti-imperialist struggle and its rays will shine afar, even beyond the borders of Southeast Asia. This is the reason why the imperialists, in particular the USA, devote such great attention to the developments in Indonesia and make it the main target of its intervention and subversion in Southeast Asia.

(4) IT WOULD BE BETTER IF THERE WERE NO MOSCOW TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AT ALL

During the past few months, there has been very much discussion about the tripartite agreement on the partial ban of nuclear weapon tests which was signed in Moscow on 5th August, 1963. Imperialist circles throughout the

world headed by the USA feel happy and relieved that, in the end, their concept was accepted by the Soviet Union and was subsequently supported by some of the Socialist countries and some Communist Parties.

The Indonesian Communists and working people do not have any doubts about the earnestness of the Soviet Union in their love for peace. But, based upon historical facts and living facts in the world today, we cannot believe at all that the imperialists desire peace based on independence and the emancipation of all mankind. We would be mad to think that the USA and the other imperialist countries love peace.

In order to defend the tripartite agreement from well-founded criticisms, it is often said that "it is better than there being no agreement at all". In contrast with this opinion, Indonesian Communists, based on their strong desire for concrete peace and not for abstract peace, are of the opinion that it would be better if there were no such agreement. Why?

The Indonesian Communists differentiate between nuclear weapons in the hands of a socialist state and those in the hands of a capitalist state, between nuclear weapon tests carried out by a socialist country and those undertaken by a capitalist country. The former is aimed at strengthening peace, while the latter increases the danger of aggressive war.

Indonesian Communists are struggling for concrete peace, that is to say, peace as the joint effort of the countries of the Socialist camp, the nations struggling for national independence, the working class in the capitalist countries and the other progressive forces that oppose imperialism; not abstract peace which exists only in the

imagination as a result of speaking fine words about the imperialists.

Since this Agreement was signed, the world peace movement has been paralysed; underground nuclear tests that are continually being undertaken by the USA are not being opposed in any way because they are permitted by the Agreement.

Since this Agreement only categorically prohibits nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, other things such as underground tests, the manufacture, stock-piling, spread and use of nuclear weapons all become things that are not prohibited. This means giving a new weapon to the imperialists and their agents with which to paralyse the peace movement.

If it can't be said to be anti-peace, then, at the very least, this Agreement has created difficulties for the peace movement. This is the reason why we hold the opinion that it would be better if there were no such agreement at all.

The Agreement is all the more incorrect since it has led to a sharpening of the conflict within the international Communist movement and among the Socialist countries. No healthy-thinking person can deny that this weakens peace. We regret very much that there were no prior consultations to work out a common stand between all the socialist countries before such an important agreement was concluded between the Soviet Union and the USA and Britain.

Faithful to the Stockholm Appeal and to the CPI's own Programme, Indonesian Communists continue to demand that all nuclear weapons be thrown into the sea and that a total prohibition accompanied by effective

control of all nuclear weapon tests, of the manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons be introduced.

The 1960 Moscow Statement states that US imperialism is the "main bulwark of aggression and war", that it is an aggressor and war provocator. By means of this tripartite agreement an attempt is being made to erase the bad appearance of the USA. The tripartite nuclear agreement of 5th August, 1963 gives the US a new face, a "peace-loving" face, a "non-aggressive", "non-interventionist" face, and so on. This is not in conformity with the facts everywhere in the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in Southeast Asia and in Indonesia itself. This is a serious obstacle in the efforts to raise the political consciousness of the masses of the people.

In connection with this nuclear question, we would like to state the views of Indonesian Communists regarding nuclear weapons. We are of the opinion that the law of the development of society does not change! Although the discovery of nuclear energy can influence the development of the productive forces of society, society still develops on the basis of the law of the coming into conformity of the relations of production with the nature of the productive forces which manifests itself in the class struggle. The class struggle is waged by human beings and the means of production and weapons are created, used and developed by human beings and therefore it is the human being that is decisive in the development of society.

We are all well aware of the destructive powers of nuclear weapons. With these destructive powers as the reason, the imperialists and revisionists are utilising these weapons to scare the people who are waging a struggle to emancipate themselves from colonial oppression and

exploitation. They are carrying out nuclear blackmail or intimidation. Weak-spirited people have fallen prey to nuclear intimidation and have finally surrendered to the imperialists.

The revolutionary peoples do not want to capitulate before the nuclear intimidation of the imperialists and reject deification of nuclear weapons, they condemn the nuclear cult. The path of armed struggle that has been taken by the peoples of various countries to seize national independence from the hands of the imperialists must be encouraged and must not be weakened on the pretext that this armed struggle can lead to the outbreak of local wars which "can develop into a nuclear war". The complete exposure of US imperialism by the revolutionaries who are waging a struggle against imperialism should not be relaxed for the reason that condemnation of the USA would "sharpen relationships which might lead to the outbreak of nuclear war" and this would "destroy the world and make men cripples". This nuclear cult is very dangerous indeed especially if a "Kennedy cult" or such like is added to it. It paralyses the fighting spirit against imperialism and greatly weakens the struggle for national independence and peace. This nuclear cult has been further cultivated by the tripartite nuclear agreement.

In order to save themselves and their system from the powerful and stormy pressure of the struggle of the people the world over for national independence and emancipation from exploitation, the US Government is today pursuing a two-faced policy, with a war face and a "peace" face. Indonesian Communists and working people are not prepared to take part in white-washing, polishing up and re-painting the criminal face of the imperialists. The Indonesian people continue to hold high

their militant banner: *"We love peace but we love independence more."*

Whosoever joins in the work of depicting the USA and the leaders of that state as being lovers of peace crudely insults the peoples of South Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, Japan, Cambodia and the people everywhere in the world. By means of the tripartite agreement signed in Moscow, the US imperialists have succeeded in displaying their face of "peace", even though only for a very short time.

This is why we repeat: it would be better if there were no Moscow tripartite agreement at all. The conclusion of this agreement helps to save the US imperialists from their bad face, even though only very temporarily.

The peoples who love independence and genuine peace cannot be deceived by the imperialist policy of a face of "peace", and they will continue to hate the imperialists and to wage a struggle against them. This is the standpoint of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, even though many governments in the world do not hold this opinion. This is not surprising since the vast majority of governments in the world today are capitalist governments. Indonesian Communists unite with this more than 90 per cent of the people of the world.

(5) COMMUNIST SOCIETY CAN ONLY BE REALISED IF IMPERIALISM HAS BEEN WIPED OFF THE EARTH

Above it has been explained how close is the mutual relationship between the revolutionary struggle of the people in one country and that of the struggle of the peoples in other countries, and also how close is the relationship between the construction of Socialism in the

Socialist countries and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for national independence and against capital in all parts of the world.

From the internal point of view the countries of the Socialist camp possess all the necessary conditions for the construction of Socialism and Communism. But from the external point of view, as long as there is imperialist encirclement, particularly if it is intensive and aggressive as is the case today, the efforts to guarantee the security of Socialism in one country, and what is more in all the countries of the socialist camp, will require a persistent class struggle both against external enemies as well as against bourgeois symptoms within socialist society itself which arise both from survivals of the old society as well as because of influence or efforts from without. If these symptoms are not steadfastly resisted, they can lead to the emergence of class antagonisms which endanger socialist construction. No socialist country is outside the world in which imperialism still exists.

Between the victory of Socialism in one country and the victory of the world Socialist revolution there is an inseparable connection. The Socialist revolution that has already been victorious in one country must not be turned into a self-contained entity and cut off from the rest; it must be turned into an assistant or means in order to speed up the victories of revolutions in other countries. Lenin stated this very clearly when he said that a revolution that has won victory must "do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*". (V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works,* Vol. II, Part 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, p. 105.) A revo-

lution that has already won victory must help other revolutions to win in order to guarantee that the victory of that revolution is everlasting. Regarding this, we once again borrow the words of Lenin: "The interests of the proletarian struggle in one country [must] be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world scale." (V. I. Lenin, *The National Liberation Movement in the East*, p. 254.)

The Socialist revolution has been victorious in a number of countries and a powerful Socialist camp has already been established. In connection with the above questions, in the present world situation where imperialism in its decline is displaying strongly aggressive characteristics and carrying out continual efforts to undermine socialist power and promote the restoration of capitalism by means of what they refer to as "peaceful evolution", the question arises of whether it is possible to realise genuine Communist society, that is, not fake Communist society, in a country as long as there is imperialism in the world. We raise this question in the context of the universal struggle to win victory for the revolutions of the people for national independence and to win the socialist revolutions, and also in order to make it possible for mankind to reach Communist society more speedily. The basis from which we raise this question is quite different from that of the Trotskyites who opposed Lenin over the possibility of winning victory for Socialism in one country while capitalism still exists. For us there is no question about whether Socialism can be built in one country. The question that we raise is that of Communism in one country or in several countries as long as imperialism still exists.

Considered from the internal point of view, the people in the Socialist countries are certainly obliged to continuously develop and consolidate their socialist economy, to continuously raise the living standards and cultural standards of the people of their respective countries. On the other hand, there is still the external aspect and this must not be ignored.

Communist society can only be realised through a very advanced development in the productive forces capable of producing everyday necessities in abundance so that the principle: "*from each according to his ability, to each according to his need*" can genuinely be implemented. This requires activities, forces and funds which are truly tremendous.

The presence of imperialist threat in the military and ideological fields makes it obligatory for the peoples of all Socialist countries to strengthen as much as possible their proletarian state as the chief instrument for pursuing of the struggle to crush imperialism on a world scale and to stamp out the survivals of bourgeois class influence at home. This means that it is impossible, irresponsible and not in conformity with the spirit of proletarian internationalism to raise on a practical level the question of Communist society in one or several countries as long as imperialism still exists in the world. Just imagine, in one or several countries, people are exerting tremendous efforts so that they themselves can live with abundant material production, each working according to ability and receiving according to need — and the needs in modern society are truly tremendous — whilst in the vast majority of countries in the world, there are still peoples who are colonised and the majority of whom live a life of oppression, destitution and hardship. *Even if it*

were possible to achieve this, then we would ask: where is the subordination of the struggle of a proletariat that has already won victory to the interests of the proletarian struggle on a world scale, where is the ability and willingness to make the greatest possible national sacrifices of nations that have already attained victory over the bourgeoisie for the sake of overthrowing international capital?

The fact that there is a socialist *state* shows that there are still antagonistic classes and that there is still a class struggle. Lenin explained that "Socialism means abolition of classes" and in order to abolish classes, the most difficult task is not to overthrow the landlords and the capitalists but to "eliminate the difference between the workers and the peasants, that is, *to make them all workers*". This latter task requires a very long period of time. Lenin then stressed: "When classes disappear, the dictatorship will become unnecessary. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, they will not disappear." (V. I. Lenin, "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 285.) To ignore this means to ignore the most important of Lenin's teaching about the state.

It cannot be denied that the continued presence of threats of imperialist aggression, intervention and subversion — and these threats will not cease as long as imperialism continues to exist however much the revisionists may speak fine words about imperialism and its leaders — greatly restricts a socialist country in building its economy, because:

Firstly, a very large portion of national income must be devoted to state defences, to building up and pre-

serving a powerful and ultra-modern national defence system. This greatly restricts the funds for the construction of gigantic projects for the greatest possible development of the productive forces which is absolutely necessary in order to produce goods in abundance. Also, security considerations, for example, the chance of bombardment by the imperialists, limit the possibility of constructing large-scale projects. This is all the more so if it is borne in mind that an advanced Socialist country must disinterestedly help the less advanced Socialist countries to modernise their national defences because it is the entire Socialist camp that has to be safeguarded.

Secondly, the necessity of assisting and fully supporting the struggle for the victory of the revolutions in other countries in the interests of consolidating the victories of the revolution in the Socialist countries themselves as well as in the framework of being "able and willing to make the greatest possible national sacrifices for the sake of overthrowing international capital". The Socialist countries must unreservedly and disinterestedly help the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in other countries, including the national independence struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Thirdly, the ideological influence coming from the imperialist countries. It is certain that this can only be overcome if there are genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties that continuously undertake revolutionary education among the masses of the people.

The facts today show that because of laxity, lack of vigilance, lack of consciousness of the threats emanating from imperialism, and as a result of not holding firmly enough to the motor of world revolution — that is, the class struggle — because of modern revisionist ideas, the

Socialism that has already been accomplished can be placed in jeopardy, undermined by the survivals of capitalism or by new seeds of capitalism.

This is the reason why the task of economic construction in the Socialist countries should be to further consolidate the socialist economy and strengthen the proletarian state. This is an objective programme. The imperialists are certainly not happy if the proletarian state is strengthened, but Communists do not need the praise of the imperialists.

The programme for the construction of Communist society in the present world situation where imperialism still exists in the world, is a subjective programme and such a programme weakens the revolutionary movement on a world scale. Why? *The prerequisite for building Communist society is peace, whereas in fact the world today still faces two possibilities, the possibility of peace and the possibility of war. As a consequence of the subjective programme for the construction of Communism the present international situation is idealised. The imperialists and their leaders who are thirsting for war and aggression, who are everywhere waging intervention, subversion and aggression, are spoken of in fine words as if they were "peace-loving" and "reasonable".* Idealising the imperialists in this way is one and inseparable with the subjective programme for the construction of Communism because if the imperialists do not want "peace" then the basis for such a programme disappears. A subjective programme leads to a subjective evaluation of the situation; it leads to subjective actions, with the result that it is not surprising if confusion, demoralisation and havoc have arisen in certain ranks of the international Communist movement, in the revolutionary movement

of the working class and the people of the world. As a result of this subjective programme, the contradiction between Socialism and imperialism is glossed over and there is the illusion that imperialism will automatically collapse once its economy has been surpassed by the Socialist countries. In this way, the fate of mankind is being played with.

The programme for the construction of Communist society in a socialist country not only obstructs the development of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world but it also obstructs good socialist construction in the Socialist countries because such a programme weakens the ideology of the working people of the socialist country in question. The political consciousness of the people declines and their militancy weakens because they are educated to live in a mirage, they are made to believe things that are not true about imperialism and the class struggle on a world scale. Of course, the subjective programme also greatly reduces the international solidarity of the working people in the socialist country that is "building Communism" because, deliberately or otherwise, they are educated in a spirit of living a life separated off from the bitterness of the class struggle so as to build a "Communist society" for themselves. They can come to regret the revolutionary struggle in other countries for the reason that it can "jeopardise" their efforts to "build Communism". Ideological weakness and the decline in political consciousness gets worse and worse if to all this is added an uncritical attitude towards expressions of bourgeois cultural decadence and the spirit of great-nation egoism.

In connection with this, it is necessary to note the fact that socialist construction in several Socialist coun-

tries is facing a number of trials. Up to today, socialist construction everywhere is still in a state of experiment. All Socialist countries, both those that exist today as well as those that will come into being in the future, face the challenge of the restoration of capitalism. The experiences of all Socialist countries testify to the correctness of Lenin's warning inspired by a high level of vigilance when he said: "The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this *hope* is converted into *attempts* at restoration." (V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 61.) Such phenomena as the signs of restoration of capitalism, disproportions between production and the market, between industry and agriculture, between nuclear industry and ordinary industry and between the economic developments in one socialist country and those in another socialist country require very special attention in order to be resolved speedily. There is no doubt whatsoever that socialist power, wielding its most powerful weapon, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, will be fully capable of resolving these phenomena; it is quite a different matter from the crises that occur periodically in capitalist economies which are an integral aspect of the capitalist system itself. But if a socialist state already talks about the construction of Communism whereas it is apparent that these phenomena have not yet been overcome, then this is nothing but a subjective attitude and it means reducing the ability to pass the trials now being faced.

We raise these questions not because we want to interfere in the programmes of fraternal Communist Par-

ties. Neither is it because we do not want Communist society to be built speedily in the world. On the contrary, it is precisely because we want to see the speedy realisation of Communist society in the shortest possible period in terms of world history. However the shortest path to such a society is not by drawing up and implementing the present subjective programme for the construction of Communism but, on the contrary, by abandoning this programme and mobilising all forces for the good construction of Socialism and to wage the struggle against imperialism with all possible strength.

There is no shorter path to Communist society than that of first completely destroying imperialism throughout the world.

In putting forward these ideas, we at the same time rectify the idea that once existed among Indonesian Communists about the possibility of creating Communist society in one or several countries while imperialism still predominates. We do not want to force our opinion upon other Communist Parties, but we only want others to understand why it is that we regard as incorrect the programme for the construction of Communist society as long as imperialism still exists in the world.

(6) THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Dear Comrades!

Some months ago, our Party sent a fraternal delegation to several Socialist countries, which visited the Soviet Union, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Chinese People's Republic and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and which held friendly discussions

with the leaderships of the Communist Parties in these countries. As regards these discussions, the main emphasis of which was on the international Communist movement, I have, on behalf of the delegation, made reports to the Political Bureau and to the meeting of cadres held on 29th September, 1963. I will not repeat here everything I said on those occasions.

On this occasion, I should only like to stress a few points, in particular regarding the necessity for us even more firmly to defend the attitude of independence and equality or equal rights in relationships with other Communist and Workers' Parties. This attitude has not only helped us to work out a correct attitude towards various problems of the international Communist movement but it has also made our Party more easily comprehensible to the masses of the Indonesian people. By means of this attitude of independence and equality we have become more critical regarding the problems of the international Communist movement and it has helped us to further integrate the ranks of the Party with the concrete problems of the Indonesian revolution and with the masses of the Indonesian people. Thanks to this correct attitude, unfavourable influence of the conflicts within the international Communist movement has been felt in our Party; in fact these conflicts have become a "University of Marxism-Leninism" for our Party ranks. We not only do not prohibit our Party members from studying all the conflicting opinions of the various Communist and Workers' Parties; on the contrary, we urge them to do so, naturally urging them to study them critically and with the aim of speeding up the victory of the Indonesian Revolution and the World Revolution.

Apart from that, we have drawn the conclusion that the international Communist movement is now experiencing a process of selection, crystallisation and consolidation and that there are today in the international Communist movement four types of Communist and Workers' Parties, namely: (1) Marxist-Leninist Parties; (2) Parties whose leaderships are controlled by revisionists but within them there is a Marxist-Leninist opposition; (3) Parties which are completely controlled by the revisionists, and Marxist-Leninists who have been expelled have set up Marxist-Leninist circles; and (4) Parties which are completely controlled by the revisionists and besides which there is already a new Communist Party.

Our Party is of the first type.

Our Party must not intervene in the internal life of other Parties. But it cannot possibly remain silent if Parties in many countries are already expelling members, if Marxist-Leninist circles have come into existence in a number of countries, and if in fact in some countries new Marxist-Leninist Parties have been set up, because, in our intercourse with Communist Parties of the world, we shall establish relations with these circles and Parties.

We Indonesian Communists will continue to be as objective as possible towards the differentiation and selection which is now taking place within the Communist Parties of many countries at the present time, and in this matter, we hold firmly by Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement.

Our Party will be as objective and as patient as possible in resolving the differences of opinion that have arisen in the international Communist movement and in

arranging our bilateral relations with fraternal Parties. Together with this, we shall explain our opinions as clearly as possible.

The correctness of our attitude of independence and equality has already been tested in practice. But nevertheless, we must continuously make our attitude quite clear, both within the Party and to the masses of the people at home, as well as to the Parties and the working class of the world. Within the Party, we must make this quite clear in order to arouse creativeness within the Party in applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution. It is necessary to make this quite clear to the masses of the people outside the Party in order to make our position towards the international Communist movement quite clear to them and so that the question of the international Communist movement also becomes the question of the masses of the Indonesian people, and especially so that the struggle against revisionism is not only a question for the Communists but a question for all patriots who are struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We must explain our attitude to fraternal Parties and to the working class of the world in order to facilitate mutual understanding and to show that if there are differences of opinion, these are not caused by any misunderstanding but are indeed based upon a real difference of opinion.

The domestic reactionaries, from Darul Islam elements to the bureaucrat capitalists, in their attempt to "deny" that the CPI takes an independent stand, are fond of saying that "the CPI is not critical towards Moscow", that "the CPI trails behind Peking", but together with this, they also say that the CPI has already become

"nationalist" and so on. They have got themselves all mixed up.

But the CPI's independent stand speaks for itself; as time goes by it is more and more being confirmed by the masses of Communists, and the non-Communist revolutionaries have greater and greater appreciation and respect for it.

When the reactionaries, like people who have just woken up when the sun is already high in the sky, realise that the CPI does indeed have an independent and critical stand in taking over the experience of the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries, and realise that this independent and critical stand benefits the revolution and the people and is, on the contrary, harmful to the counter-revolution and other enemies of the people, these enemies then begin to utilise every difference of opinion between the CPI and the CPSU (for example, on the question of whether or not to criticise Yugoslav revisionism, whether or not to give aid to the Nehru Government, whether or not to support the tripartite agreement on partial prohibitions of nuclear weapon tests) in order to make the CPI take the opposite stand, that is, to make the CPI adopt a non-independent and non-critical stand. Just see — now the enemies of the people are inciting the CPI to trail behind others. . . ! Once again, they have got themselves all mixed up. Such is the effectiveness of the CPI's stand.

No. The CPI is not going to abandon its independent stand, either now or at any time. As we have repeatedly stated and proven in fact, this stand not only benefits the left-wing movement in Indonesia but it also benefits the entire nation which is now waging a life-and-death struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Among Communists abroad, too, there are some who are not very happy about the CPI's independent stand. Even — and I might as well not hide this — there are comrades abroad who accuse the CPI of being "nationalist". They regard the slogan of "Indonesianising Marxism-Leninism" as being a slogan that is in conflict with Marxism-Leninism. I do not approve of authoritarian methods which, on the slightest pretext, say "if Lenin were still alive, he would bear us out", and so on, but since the thing that we are Indonesianising is Marxism-Leninism and not anything else, and since the practice proves that this is a good and useful thing to do, we too would like to ask: If Marx, Engels and Lenin were still alive, would they be happy or sad to see Communist Parties applying their teachings faithfully and creatively? What is Marxism-Leninism for if not to be Indonesianised in Indonesia, Indianised in India, Australianised in Australia? What then did Lenin mean when he said that Marxism must be "translated", if not blending its general truths with the concrete practice of the revolution in a particular country? By Indonesianising Marxism-Leninism, Indonesian Communists are at one and the same time opposing revisionism, both modern as well as classical, and opposing dogmatism, both modern as well as classical.

Those comrades abroad who are not so happy about the CPI's independent stand often say that "the CPI is flexible in domestic affairs but rigid in international affairs". These comrades are confusing two types of contradictions. Towards whom is it that the CPI is flexible and towards whom is it that the CPI is rigid? The CPI is flexible towards its allies in the National Front — is this wrong? The CPI is rigid towards the enemies

of the people, namely, the US imperialists and other imperialists — is this wrong? Yes, the CPI is rigid towards the enemies of the people at home such as Messrs. Hatta, Sukiman, Sjahrir, Natsir, Kartosuwirjo and others — is this wrong, too? Or perhaps these comrades would like the CPI to "go to the other side of the road", to adopt a rigid attitude towards its allies in the National Front and to adopt a flexible attitude towards the enemies of the people at home and towards the imperialists. If this is what they want, then sorry, the CPI is not prepared to follow such advice because it would mean the ruination of the Indonesian revolution, because such advice calls for adventurism in the united national front and capitulationism towards the domestic enemies of the people and towards imperialism!

In dealing with the problems in the international Communist movement, the CPI has, from the very outset up to the present day, always taken a consistent stand. The CPI holds firmly by Marxism-Leninism, by proletarian internationalism, by the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement.

It is known from the recent polemics in the international Communist movement that discussions between the Communist and Workers' Parties took place not only in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 but also in other places, for example, in Bucharest, also in 1960. People have enough chance to examine the stand taken by the CPI delegations at these meetings; there is not a single question in which the CPI has not been consistent. The CPI has been consistent in its stand towards Stalin, namely, to the effect that, even though he committed certain mistakes, Stalin is still a great Marxist-Leninist whose services to

the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, to the liquidation of Trotskyism, to the destruction of fascism in the Second World War, to the defence and creative development of Marxism-Leninism, and to the international working-class movement in general are immeasurably great. The CPI has been consistent in its attitude towards Albania, namely, in regarding Albania as a Socialist state and the Albanian Party of Labour as a Marxist-Leninist Party and therefore regarding every attack made on Albania and the Albanian Party of Labour, in particular those made openly, as being incorrect. The CPI has also been consistent in its attitude towards Yugoslav revisionism, namely, that, as is stated in the 1960 Moscow Statement, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a traitor to Marxism-Leninism and is waging subversive activities against the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement, and that opposition to it is therefore the obligatory duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party. And on all other questions, too, the CPI has been consistent.

Only recently, to be exact on 11th December, we celebrated the third anniversary of the adoption of the Moscow Statement. We can only rejoice at the fact that revolutionary practice during the past three years, in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in all the four corners of the earth has proven that that Statement has indeed withstood all trials, that it is correct and has been a source of inspiration. If we really hold firmly by the Statement, hold firmly by its revolutionary contour and spirit, hold firmly by it in words and in deeds, and not liberally and anarchistically revise this part or that part at will, then it will be possible to uphold Marxist-Leninist unity in the international Communist movement,

and the international Communist movement as the mightiest movement of our epoch can be led so as to advance to the seizure of new victories, one by one.

The situation in the international Communist movement today is not black and it will never be black. Even though there are serious differences of opinion in the international Communist movement today, the rays of Marxism-Leninism nevertheless shine in all countries. In some places, the ray is a large one, in others it is small, but nowhere is there complete darkness. However small the ray of Marxism-Leninism may be in a country, it is nevertheless the only ray for the working people of that country. This is why there is no reason whatsoever to be pessimistic. There is every reason for us to hold high the banner of revolutionary optimism in the international Communist movement today.

How about the possibility of holding an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties? We continue to hold the view that, at a suitable time, after adequate preparations have been made, such a meeting will definitely take place.

In a situation where, as at present, bilateral negotiations have not be sufficiently undertaken in order to resolve the differences of opinion between certain Communist Parties, for instance, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, we are of the opinion that bilateral negotiations should be continued before an international meeting of all Parties is held.

We are anxious that the international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties should strengthen the Marxist-Leninist movement and proletarian internationalism, and strengthen as well as develop the revolutionary

principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement. We do not want an international meeting to weaken all this.

While waiting for a suitable moment to convene an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the Communist Party of Indonesia will continue to struggle against revisionism by unfurling the six banners, namely: (1) the banner of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism; (2) the banner of revolution against capitulation; (3) the banner of concrete peace against abstract peace; (4) the banner of proletarian internationalism against great-nation egoism; (5) the banner of unity against splitting; and (6) the banner of revolutionary optimism against pessimism.

Unfurling these six banners means: (1) we are faithful in words and in deeds to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement; (2) we are serious about the task of completing the world revolution in its entirety, leading to a classless society; (3) we draw together all progressive forces as the core of a mighty peace movement against the imperialists, in particular the US imperialists who are the main bulwark of aggression and war; (4) we reject the big stick of any state or Party and defend the principles of independence and equality in the international Communist movement; (5) we preserve unity in the international Communist movement by giving first place to real unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism; and (6) we oppose demoralisation in the international Communist movement as a result of the split that has been caused by revisionism.

By holding high these six banners we continue the advance to crush imperialism and revisionism and to strengthen the international Communist movement.

III

CONSOLIDATE THE INTEGRATION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST CPI WITH THE PEASANTS

Dear Comrades!

In April this year, we successfully completed the Second Three-Year Plan. What are the most important results that have been achieved by our Party with the conclusion of the Second Three-Year Plan, that is to say, after having completed two Three-Year Plans?

After having completed two Three-Year Plans on the building of the ideology and organisation of the Party, there are two most important things that we have achieved, namely:

(1) Our Party has become a Marxist-Leninist Party with many members, that is to say, more than two and a half million members, who are generally educated in the outlook, standpoint, method and spirit of Marxism-Leninism, who are spread throughout the entire country and consolidated politically, organisationally and ideologically. In other words, we have succeeded in creating a Party that is at one and the same time a mass Party and a cadre Party as we have indeed intended to do and struggled to do for the last 10 years or so.

(2) Under the leadership of the Indonesian Communists, more than 7 million adult peasants are organised. The *Barisan Tani Indonesia* (BTI — Indonesian Peasants' Front) has a membership of 7,099,100, or more than 25 per cent of the adult peasant population. Of the roughly 42,575 agricultural villages (the total number of villages is 47,305), 21,263 groups of the mass revolutionary peas-

ants' organisation have been established (nearly 50 per cent); in 2,587 agricultural ketjamatan (districts), (the total number of ketjamatan is 2,874), 2,186 sub-branches have been established (more than 84 per cent); and of the 259 *Daswati II* (second-level government regions), 262 branches have been established covering 251 *Daswati II* (almost 97 per cent). For a number of reasons, more than one branch have been established in certain *Daswati II.*

What conclusions can we draw from these two facts?

Firstly, our Marxist-Leninist Party has basically already integrated itself with the peasants and this means basically that we have succeeded in creating and continually consolidating the alliance of the working class (represented by the Communists) and the peasants.

Secondly, with the ever greater consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasants, the united national front in our country has a sound and militant basis and is therefore becoming more and more invincible.

Thirdly, with the continual expansion in the number of peasants led by the Communists, there is an ever greater guarantee of the defeat of every attempt at splitting by the right-wing socialists, right-wing religious persons, right-wing nationalists and the other reactionaries who are trying to create conflicts between the nationalities, between the regions and the centre (separatism) and between the forces within the national front.

The conclusion can also be drawn that the CPI has basically succeeded in Indonesianising Marxism-Leninism, which in essence means integrating the Marxist-Leninist CPI with the peasants.

It is fitting for this Second Plenum of the CC to convey its highest appreciation and salutations to all Party members and cadres who, in a spirit of great courage and

perseverance, have worked hard to achieve these brilliant results. We convey the highest salutations especially to those cadres who are working in the ranks of the peasants. The heart and thoughts of the CC of the CPI and of all Party members and cadres who work in the towns will always be with them.

Of course, the question of Indonesianising Marxism-Leninism is not only a question of integrating our Party with the peasants; the question is much broader, that is, integrating the Party with everything that is connected with the concrete practice of the revolution in our country, with the workers, the youth, the intellectuals, the women, the writers and artists, the poor urban dwellers and so on; with political, economic, cultural, scientific and other affairs. But the key to all this is the total integration of our Marxist-Leninist Party with the peasants because our revolution at the present stage is in essence an agrarian revolution, a revolution of the peasants. This is the reason why we say that the essence and the primary day-to-day practice of Indonesianising Marxism-Leninism is integrating our Party with the peasants.

All our talk about solving the food-and-clothing problem, the indispensable condition for which is a radical agrarian programme, would be pure nonsense if we did not integrate our Party totally with the peasants. If we did not do this, all our talk about completing the national and democratic revolution, about changing the system of society by crushing the big exploiters in the countryside and the towns, about industrialising and modernising Indonesia, and even more so about Socialism, would be pure nonsense.

But the results we have achieved, as have been described above, are proof that we are not talking nonsense,

that the members and cadres and the entire ranks of our Party are in real earnest. We should also like revolutionaries outside the ranks of the Communists to be in earnest, too, and we encourage them into becoming so.

But what is to be said if many of them only want to talk nonsense about the food-and-clothing difficulties, about completing the revolution, about opposing the big exploiters, about the industrialisation and modernisation of the country, about Socialism, and so on. We cannot prohibit them from talking nonsense, but the important thing is that we ourselves do not talk nonsense, that we Communists genuinely dedicate ourselves to all the good things we talk about. Only in this way can we become genuine bearers of the Message of Suffering of the People, the genuine servant and the genuine saviour of the people. Clearly, it is not the monopoly of the Communists to become the saviour of the people. But clearly, too, if one wants to become the saviour of the people, one must be in real earnest, and if one is in real earnest, it will not be possible to come to any other conclusion than that the first step in this direction is to place the revolutionary struggle of the peasants in the forefront, to implement a radical agrarian programme so that the slogan "land only to the peasants who till it" can be put into practice.

We are not yet satisfied nor can we possibly be satisfied with what we have accomplished in our work among the peasants. We must intensify our ideological, political and organisational work so that our Party becomes more deeply rooted in the countryside, so that the unity between our Party and the peasants is like finger-nails in the flesh. For this, CPI cadres must be like persons who are "obsessed" with the peasants' movement.

The theory of the revolution which we have recently formulated in a very simple way, namely: 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, or, do, do, re, mi, fa, stresses the exceptional importance of work among the peasants. 1 (the first one) means one vanguard, that is to say, the working class; 1 (the second one) means one basic force, that is to say, the peasants; 2 means the two forces that make up the basis of the united national front, that is to say, the workers and the peasants in close alliance; 3 means the three moving forces of the revolution, that is to say, the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, or in other words, the entire working people; and 4 means the four forces of the National Front, that is to say, the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Thus the peasants comprise the basic force, one of the two forces that make up the basis of the united national front, one of the three moving forces of the revolution, and one of the four forces of the united national front. So important is the position of the peasants in our revolution that it is not possible for our revolution to be victorious without organising and mobilising the tens of millions of peasants. The masses of the peasants not only comprise a decisive force in implementing the first stage, the national and democratic stage of our revolution, but also for the second stage, the Socialist stage, because the peasants comprise extremely broad masses of the people who have a stake in the building of a Socialist society, and because the peasants will become the mainstay of the basis of our Socialist economy in time to come. Thus, the work carried out among the peasants today is not only in order to complete the national and democratic revolution but it is also work in the interest

of the future of the revolution. The better we work among the peasants now, the more rapidly will the national democratic revolution be completed and the better will be the Socialism that we build in the future.

Some of our Party members and cadres work and live in the towns. Many of them still think that the question of working among the peasants has nothing to do with them. By thinking in this way, they are in fact holding themselves aloof from the basic activity of our Party. Without identifying oneself with the basic activity of our Party it is impossible to be a good Party member.

Does this mean that the Party demands that all our town cadres should make a rush for the countryside and neglect the work among the workers, the intellectuals, and other sections of town-dwellers? Of course not; we cannot possibly neglect the work in the towns, in particular, we cannot neglect the work among the workers. Our Party is the Party of the working class, and therefore it is impossible for it to neglect work in the ranks of its own class.

What we do hope from Party members and cadres in the towns is that they should identify themselves with the basic activity of the Party, activity among the peasants, that they should be thoroughly conscious of the decisive role of the peasants in winning victory for the Indonesian Revolution. In order to do this, they must in the first place integrate their thoughts with the revolutionary movement of the peasants, and in order to do this it is indispensable for them to accept the Party's agrarian programme unreservedly, to understand this programme thoroughly, to understand all matters connected with class relations in the countryside, to understand the peasants' struggle and link up their own work

in the town creatively and properly with the peasants' struggle. They must identify their thoughts with the thoughts of the very poorest village dwellers, namely, the peasant labourers and the poor peasants. *They must think the "thought of the peasants' revolution", the thought that the key to our revolution is the village, the consistent implementation of the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements and the Basic Agrarian Law is a favourable condition in order subsequently to implement a radical agrarian programme.*

There are still many of our town cadres who are quite indifferent to the questions facing the peasants, who make no effort to know the contents of the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements and the Basic Agrarian Law. And yet these two laws are the results of a bitter struggle waged by the peasants under the leadership of the Party. They take no interest whatsoever in the struggle and the difficulties of the peasants in bringing about the implementation of these two laws. If things are allowed to go on like this, many of our cadres in the towns will just become amateur revolutionaries, persons who are not capable of earnestly taking part in the revolution. It is certainly not our intention to have such town cadres. This is why our Party must in the time to come turn them into genuine revolutionaries through going-down movements, Party schools, seminars and discussions so that they integrate their thoughts with the struggle of the peasants, link up their activities in the towns creatively and properly with the peasants' struggle and help this struggle. A very important role in this must be played by revolutionary trade union cadres who work in the transportation and communications sectors, in the

agrarian sector and in other sectors that have many connections with the villages.

Our town cadres are in general all good cadres, they easily grasp a problem, they are skilful social and political workers, devoted to and confident in the Party, and they generally know about the need to give pride of place to the interests of the Party and the revolution.

Our cadres are aware of the fact that all national-democratic revolutions in Asia that have won victory and have been able to follow up victory by speedy Socialist construction have been able to do this first and foremost because of the integration between the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peasants in the countries in question. The Cuban Revolution also won because of this. Yes, our own experiences too indicate the same thing about the importance of the role of the peasants. We succeeded in crushing the "PRRI-Permesta" rebellion because the Armed Forces of the Republic obtained the help of the masses of the peasants. It was only possible to stamp out the armed counter-revolutionary Darul Islam-TII and "South Moluccas Republic" gangs after the peasants had been aroused into stamping them out together with the Armed Forces of the Republic. In those places where the peasants have not yet risen up, as for example in South Sulawesi, it has not yet been possible to crush the counter-revolutionary rebels. As long as the peasants have not been aroused in South Sulawesi, it will not be possible to stamp out the Kahar Muzakar counter-revolutionary gangs completely. Military force alone cannot possibly stamp them out.

The experience of the August 1945 Revolution also points to the same thing as regards the exceptionally important role of the peasants. Even though the demands

of the August Revolution have not yet been carried out up to now, this revolution has nevertheless achieved certain important results and has given us some extremely important lessons about the indispensability of the role of the peasants in the revolution. The August 1945 Revolution taught that: (1) *the peasants or the villages are the source of foodstuffs whereas without foodstuffs the revolution cannot possibly occur;* (2) *the peasants or the villages are the source of soldiers whereas without revolutionary soldiers, the revolution cannot possibly occur;* (3) *the peasants or villages are the place to which the revolution retreats if it suffers blows in the towns, whereas without a place of retreat, the revolutionary forces can be crushed in the towns;* and (4) *the peasants or the villages are the basis for launching an attack against the enemy to win back the towns that had previously been abandoned, whereas without a basis in the form of villages from which to launch an attack, it is not possible for the towns to be seized back.* In brief, the question of the peasants or the villages is the question of life and death for the revolution, and even the question of life and death for revolutionary cadres. In addition, the safety of the revolutionary cadres in the towns and the solution of other vital national problems also depend greatly upon the revolutionary work in the villages among the ranks of the peasants.

Today the entire Party is fired with a burning *ban-teng* spirit, with the firm resolve of "ever onward, no retreat". It is now in the course of implementing the "flying-start movement" of the *Four-Year Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation.* Of course we have to fulfil all the manifold targets set in the Plan. But we must never for a moment forget that the implementation

of this Plan must be closely linked with the line of consolidating our Party's integration with the peasants. What does this mean? This means that our cultural work must *in the first place* be aimed at raising the cultural level of the peasants and arousing the peasants' spirit and joy in the struggle. This means that our ideological work must *in the first place* be aimed at further integrating the thoughts of all Party cadres with the peasants and at strengthening the proletarian ideology of the cadres who work among the peasants. This means that our organisational work must *in the first place* be aimed at further expanding and consolidating the Party organisation and our mass revolutionary peasants' organisation so as to guarantee unanimity of thought within them, so as to guarantee their discipline and fighting spirits. The Party's work among the youth must *in the first place* be aimed at the peasant youth, its work among the women must *in the first place* be aimed at the peasant women, its work among artists must *in the first place* be aimed at the village artists, its work among teachers must *in the first place* be aimed at the village teachers, its work among children must *in the first place* be aimed at the children of the peasants, and so on.

Our most important political demand today is the demand for a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core. As we have already concluded, there is no question about its scientific correctness, objectivity, justice in accordance with democratic principles and patriotism because the demand is quite clearly scientific, objective, democratic and patriotic. The question is that the other classes do not voluntarily want to surrender even a part of state power to the proletariat.

Thus, some of our comrades who are only clever at blaming President Sukarno for the fact that a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core has not yet been established, are very mistaken. They say that President Sukarno just talks and talks whereas in fact up to now a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core has not yet been set up. Viewed from the angle of the class struggle, and we cannot do other than view it from this angle, the very fact that the President speaks about the necessity for a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core, that is to say, that he speaks about the participation of the Communists in state power, is already very good. This is much better than if the President were not to speak about this, and far better by comparison with the right-wing nationalists, the right-wing religious people, the former Masjumi-PSI[1] people who have now gone into hiding inside SOKSI, and other reactionaries, who all oppose it. These comrades who are only clever at blaming President Sukarno for the fact that a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core has not yet been established are guilty of three mistakes, namely: (1) regarding the question of state power as something magical, something philanthropic; (2) not consistently standing on their own two feet, and (3) aiming at the wrong target, because by being clever only at blaming President Sukarno, the result is that the reactionaries and the dark forces who are the obstacle to the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core are not being exposed and beaten enough.

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[1] Masjumi-PSI: the two ultra-reactionary parties, one Moslem and the other right-wing socialist, that were outlawed in 1960.

Of course, President Sukarno can do very much in connection with the question of forming a Cabinet. This is why our Party always calls on the people to continuously raise this correct, just and necessary demand with President Sukarno. But we cannot hope for something magic to happen or for something philanthropic to happen as regards the question of state power. As has frequently been said, the question of power is a question of the balance of forces and there is no class that voluntarily wants to share power with another class. This is the reason why for the formation of a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core, we must unceasingly, in a spirit of great enthusiasm and with persevering work, carry out the line: consolidate the progressive forces, unite with the middle-of-the-road forces and continuously isolate the diehards. In other words, work even better among the masses of the people, in particular working from below, both among the organised people as well as among the unorganised people. This is the condition for breaking down the wall that separates the proletariat from state power. The key to implementing this line, as we have often said, is the work performed by the Communists among the masses, in particular among the peasants.

Our revolutionary peasants' movement today faces four main tasks: (1) *to carry out the "six-goods" movement;* (2) *to expand and improve research work in the villages;* (3) *to step up activities to make the BTI a mass organisation of the peasant labourers and the poor peasants without refusing entry to the middle peasants and also organising the middle peasants in co-operatives;* and (4) *intensifying and spreading Marxist-Leninist education among those cadres who work among the peas-*

ants. The core of these four tasks is the "six-goods" movement, that is, the movement (1) for the reduction of rent, particularly within the framework of implementing the Law on Crop-Sharing Agreements; (2) for the reduction of interest rates on loans; (3) for an increase in the wages of peasant labourers; (4) for an increase in agricultural production, including the 1001 movement and the rat-extermination campaign; (5) for an increase in the cultural level of the peasants; and (6) for an increase in the political consciousness of the peasants. Important progress has been made in the recent period in the implementation of these four tasks.

The stagnation in the implementation of the Crop-Sharing Law and the Basic Agrarian Law has encouraged the peasants to take unilateral actions to ensure that these two laws are really implemented. Unilateral actions are becoming more and more widespread every day and therefore the activities of the peasants' movement in the days to come will be marked by unilateral actions. These unavoidable actions will certainly meet with obstructions. Based on the peasants' own experiences, the unilateral actions will only be successful if at least three conditions are met: (1) compact organisation, especially unanimity in the standpoint and resolve of the leadership of the actions at the *kabupaten* (sub-district), *ketjamatan* (district) and village level; and the concreteness or vitality of the revolutionary peasants organisation in the local work groups (LWG); (2) education should proceed apace, namely, emergency courses for village cadres which deal specifically with the practical side of actions; and (3) actions to proceed under leadership, avoiding "leadership action" without the masses, or "mass actions"

without leadership, as well as actions being consistently based upon the farm labourers and the poor peasants.

Unilateral actions are extremely just and absolutely legal because the objective is none other than the proper implementation of state laws (the Crop-Sharing Law and the Basic Agrarian Law). Unilateral actions are beneficial both to the Government as well as to the broad mass of village inhabitants; these actions must therefore be capable of winning the sympathy and support of more than 90 per cent of the village inhabitants and the non-reactionary state officials. Town inhabitants too, who have a stake in an increase in agricultural production must give these unilateral actions their full support. It is only with unilateral actions that it will be possible to put an end to the intolerable sabotage that has been encountered up to the present in the implementation of these two laws and to ensure their implementation.

If it has been stated above that important progress has recently been made in the implementation of the four tasks, this does not mean that there are no longer any major shortcomings in need of rectification. The facts show that not all peasants' actions are yet centred around the core of the "six-goods", in particular peasants' actions directly against the landlords, such as actions for a reduction in rent, a reduction in the rate of interest on loans and a rise in wages. It can be said that peasants' actions against the landlords at the present time have not yet become as widespread and deep as they ought to be. Because village research work is not yet as widespread and deep as it should be, there are still rather a lot of Committees in agricultural regions that have not yet succeeded in arousing the peasants and improving the leadership of the peasants so as to wage a struggle directly

against landlord exploitation. Thus there are still Party Committees in agricultural regions that have not had any direct experiences in opposing the landlords, starting from research work to know who are the landlords, what methods of exploitation they employ, up to the work of arousing the farm labourers and poor peasants for the implementation of actions, from the simplest to the most severe type of actions.

Considered from the point of view of the method of leadership, it is quite clear that without direct experience, Party Committees cannot be successful in welding general appeals with concrete directives. This is why the work of extending and improving research work in the villages must be carried out in real earnest right down to the Section Committees and the Sub-Section Committees in the agricultural regions. In addition to this, if we raise the issue of improving the leadership of the peasants, we must examine our apparatus for carrying this task out. The Party apparatus for carrying out this task must continually be improved. Steps must continue to be taken to cultivate cadres from among the ranks of the farm labourers and poor peasants, and to place them in the leadership both on the Party Committees in the agricultural regions as well as in the mass revolutionary peasants' organisation.

Our peasant movement is facing an even greater upsurge. In face of this, there are three attitudes that can be taken by political parties, groups and individuals: *firstly,* stand in front of the peasants and lead them; *secondly,* stand behind them or at their side while condemning and ridiculing them; and *thirdly,* standing face to face with them with rifles drawn. We Communists have long since proclaimed what our attitude is, namely, to

stand in front of and to lead the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, and, together with the peasants to inculcate consciousness in, and draw over, those who ridicule the peasants, and resolutely oppose all those who are against the peasants' struggle. We shall staunchly defend this attitude, in a more courageous "*banteng*" spirit and with the resolve "ever forward, no retreat". By doing this it means that we are resisting sabotage of the implementation of the Crop-Sharing and Basic Agrarian Laws as well as pushing forward implementation of land reform in accordance with the Decisions of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (MPRS), the Economic Declaration and other state documents.

At the end of April this year, we completed the Second Three-Year Plan with reasonably good success, both as regards the number of members as well as the number of Party organisations; at the same time, the cadres and the majority of Party members have become more educated in Marxist-Leninist politics and theory. Party membership has now reached more than two and a half million and the Party has become a Party that is at one and the same time a mass Party and a cadre Party. But the greatness of our Party today is still far from adequate by comparison with the magnitude of the tasks which we face, both nationally as well as internationally.

Although the work for the Second Three-Year Plan period was throughout perched on the dynamite of the state of emergency with the result that in many regions, our comrades faced great difficulties in implementing the Plan, the most important plan targets were nevertheless fulfilled 100 per cent or almost 100 per cent. Of all the 11 most important targets, almost half were achieved by more than 100 per cent while the others achieved figures

approaching 100 per cent, and there was only one that was below 50 per cent, and that was the target of collection of fees.

Today it is only West Irian that as yet has no CPI Major District Committee due to the fact that Guided Democracy is not yet operating there, and parties are not yet allowed to be established there. But the moment this ban is lifted, the Party is ready to set up an MDC and lower Committees. There are CPI Section Committees in 93 per cent of all *Daswati II* in the country, CPI Sub-Section Committees in 83 per cent of all *ketjamatans* or regions at the same level as a *ketjamatan,* and CPI Resort Committees in 62 per cent of all villages or areas of village level.

The conclusion can be drawn from the experience of the Second Three-Year Plan that Plan implementation very much depends upon the unanimity and activity of the basic committee. Thus, the problem of activising all basic committees is a basic problem in the life of our Party organisation. This is the key to mass political activity and the activity of the basic units of the revolutionary mass organisation. The key to making the basic committee function properly in general is the Sub-Section Committee. Therefore, the concentration in building our Party organisation must be placed upon developing SSC's that are ideologically and politically monolithic and that master well the method of leadership and style of work. Co-operative work in the SSC's must be harmonious and for this it is above all essential to solve all internal contradictions without any delay, they must not be *"left till tomorrow"* or be allowed to linger on endlessly.

The final-spurt movement during the last 6 months of the Second Three-Year Plan gave rise to extraordinary

activity. The spirit of catching up with targets that were still behindhand in implementation stimulated Party cadres into re-studying documents of the Congress, the Central Committee Plenums and Plan Control Conferences, and encouraged them into improving implementation of the method of leadership and the style of work.

We commenced the Four-Year Plan on Culture, Ideology and Organisation on 17th August last. The core of the Four-Year Plan is the "Ten Raises",[1] that is: (1) raise the cultural level of the mass of Party members and the people (anti-illiteracy campaigns, Centres of People's Sciences and Houses of People's Sciences); (2) raise the ideological level of the Party members and the people (Political Schools and People's Courses); (3) increase membership of the Party and the mass organisations; (4) raise the status of candidate members to members; (5) expand the grouping of Party members and candidate members; (6) further activise the Resort Committees, the Sub-Section Committees, the Sections and the Fractions; (7) increase the collection of fees; (8) intensify more suitable transfer and placement of cadres; (9) intensify the going-down movement; and (10) improve the implementation of the method of leadership and the style of work.

For implementation of the Four-Year Plan, we have commenced with the *Flying-Start Movement* which will cover a period of three to six months, that is to say a movement to disseminate an understanding of the essence of the Plan, namely *that implementation of the Plan means changing the balance of forces, consolidating the progressive forces and strengthening the united front, all*

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[1] As may be seen, the verb "to raise" is not always appropriate in the English translation.

of this being for the revolution. The Flying-Start Movement is the ideological and technical-administrative preparation to ensure that the Plan proceeds smoothly.

Those Committees that do not yet have a Plan apparatus should set one up during the Flying-Start Movement; and those that already have a Plan apparatus should activise them by making it compulsory for the Plan Bureau or the Plan Functionary to report to the Executive Committee or the Committee Secretariat once a month about their work. During the Flying-Start Movement, the details of the Plan must be sent to all Resort Committees so that they know exactly what they have to do within the framework of the Four-Year Plan.

During this Four-Year Plan, education in the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism constitutes an important task which must not for a moment be relaxed. The great tasks facing Indonesian Communists can only be implemented if there is solid unity within our entire ranks, whereas it is certain that the defeats that are continuously being sustained by the reactionaries will lead to their launching more intensive attacks, also in the ideological field. It is only if we master the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism that we shall be able to smash all these attacks, guard our solidity and gradually make dialectical and historical materialism the possession of the entire nation.

In connection with the task of consolidating the Party's integration with the peasants, it is necessary to stress that all Party schools at all levels are in essence "schools of the peasant revolution".

The key to implementing the Four-Year Plan in the field of culture and ideology is *teachers*. Therefore, activ-

ities to hold Teachers' Schools and Teachers' Application Courses must be given the best possible attention.

Party work among village teachers, elementary school teachers and secondary school teachers must be stepped up because they can help to raise the cultural level of the masses of the people. Our Party must establish the best possible co-operation with the Adult Education Division of the Department of Basic Education and Culture.

In order to meet the very great need for teachers for the People's Universities, the Marxist academies and progressive universities, Party work among the intellectuals must be intensified, drawing more of them into the Party and educating them in the spirit and theory of Marxism-Leninism. While there are some comrades among the intellectuals who feel self-satisfied and whose activities have become lax, in general Communist intellectuals are working hard. Today, within the framework of implementing the Four-Year Plan, there is much more work for them to do. Also within the framework of Indonesianising Marxism-Leninism, so as to ensure that the general truths of Marxism-Leninism are more closely integrated with the concrete practice of the Indonesian Revolution, the Party hopes for greater creativeness from those Party cadres who come from the intellectuals. For this purpose, Communist intellectuals must more resolutely practise our slogan of study and work, that is, "Master Marxism-Leninism and know the situation", that is to say, they must study Marxist-Leninist theory more and must become better acquainted with the social practice of the masses of the people, and in particular, know all the ins and outs of the class struggle in our country.

Party work among the intellectuals has good prospects. The political consciousness of Indonesian intellectuals today is high. In the context of the struggle against imperialism, in the campaign to crush "Malaysia" and all manifestations of neo-colonialism in political, economic and cultural affairs such as the US "peace corps", more and more pupils and students are taking part. This growing political consciousness is also apparent from the continuous actions being carried out to remove anti-Manipol people from the universities.

In the context of implementation of the Four-Year Plan and generally developing the revolutionary situation, we place great hopes in writers, artists and other cultural workers. We hope that they will place the stress in their work upon *creative work*, and for this purpose, in addition to deepening their understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and politics, they must *go down* more and *produce more* writings and other creative works which are artistic, realistic and revolutionary, which have the power to awaken and thus to stimulate and mobilise mass actions. Up to the present time, many of our literary and artistic works do not yet fully constitute a response to political, economic or cultural challenge but are still generally at the level of expressing approval or disapproval of a particular situation, of condemning or praising something. The basic reason is that many of our writers, artists and other cultural workers have not yet fully integrated themselves with the masses of the working people. But it is a matter for rejoicing that the process of integration has already begun.

The decisive aspect in the question of integrating writers and artists with the masses of the people is integration in thought, whereas going down in order to

become acquainted with the life and different aspects of the struggle of the masses of the people and to listen to the criticisms of the masses of the people about their creative works, is an essential way of testing the degree to which they have achieved this integration of thought. Since our cultural activities must penetrate more thoroughly into the midst of the working people, especially the peasants, it is therefore necessary to further intensify written works and dramatic presentations which means at one and the same time increasing the amount of activity to compose songs of struggle and healthy popular songs, to do decoration work, design posters, draw caricatures, and the like.

Revisionism is not an acute danger in our Party. But there can be no doubt that it is a latent danger because our Party is not something that stands isolated from Indonesian society and world society that contains revisionism. The field of arts and literature very easily absorbs things and this is why it can most easily accept and cultivate revisionism. Communist writers and artists must guard themselves and their field of activity from being afflicted with the poison of revisionism. They must wage a militant struggle against manifestations of revisionism in the field of literature and art. In this way they will greatly assist the Party and the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people.

In order to improve and perfect Party work in literature and the arts, the Central Committee is going to convene a National Conference of Progressive Writers and Artists, particularly Communist writers and artists, in the first half of next year. We shall also invite non-Communist progressive writers and artists to take part in this Conference.

Based on the experiences of our Party in working with a Plan, this working with a Plan must always be combined with intensification of work among the masses, in particular the peasants. This is the reason why one of the most vital guarantees of success for the implementation of the Four-Year Plan is stepping up the work of bringing about simultaneousness between activities for implementation of the Plan and Party activities among the masses of the peasants, the masses of the workers, the masses of the youth, the women, the intellectuals, the writers and artists, the poor urban dwellers, and so on.

In the midst of this upsurge in the revolutionary situation in which Communists are generally becoming more and more steeled in the revolutionary struggle, some of our comrades are not advancing in step with the development of the situation. They are in the main a minority of comrades who are members of Government Organs and Representative Councils, in short, comrades who obtain facilities in their daily lives in connection with their position. They are comrades who were good people before they got these positions, and now too, most of them are still good but then they become influenced by their sphere of activity where there are many lazy, corrupt, gambling and immoral people. They use their position not to consolidate the revolutionary movement but to "consolidate themselves". They forget that they are the bearers of the Message of the Suffering of the People, that they obtained their position thanks to the mandate of the Party and the people. They generally do not behave so badly as the criminal people from other groups but this is no reason to justify Communists who are guilty of inexcusable activities. The Party Committee concerned must take speedy action against these

weak comrades, to criticise them and where necessary take disciplinary action. But the even more important thing is to take action to prevent misdeeds from occurring and to make sure that comrades who have been placed in certain positions really carry out their tasks in accord with the mandate of the Party and the people, and to make sure that they make progress and become experts in their respective field of work. For this purpose, all Committees under whose leadership there are members of Executive Government Boards, Regional Legislative Councils and other Councils must establish a special commission, a *Commission on Governmental and Representative Affairs,* to assist the work and control the activities as well as, where necessary, criticise in time (not too late) those comrades who are members of such bodies. Together with this, the Control Commissions of all Committees must be activised. Every misdemeanour must be settled quickly, correctly, carefully, wisely and clearly. Settlements that are protracted, incorrect, careless, unwise and vague must be opposed.

Should those comrades who are members of Governmental Organs and Representative Councils not be allowed to make use of the facilities that they obtain in connection with their positions? Of course they should. They must make the best possible use of all the facilities and opportunities available to them in order to increase their service to the people and the revolution and not in order to "consolidate themselves".

Our Party is facing work that is becoming greater and greater both in the context of implementing the Four-Year Plan, in handling the revolutionary situation that is more and more rising to new peaks and in handling international questions, including the question of the

international Communist movement. There is no greater glory for us Communists than that of becoming good, active participants in this great work. Our Party is not only gaining more and more recognition from the masses of the Indonesian people as the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in our country but it also occupies an honourable position in the international Communist movement.

We must consolidate and develop all the good characteristics of our Party which we have summed up from the experiences of the revolutionary struggle and the experiences of building our own Party. These characteristics are, among others: (1) combining patriotism with proletarian internationalism; (2) firmly upholding the opinion that building the organisation is important but building ideology is even more important; (3) firmly upholding principles but being flexible in their application; (4) becoming a mass Party and a cadre Party at one and the same time; and (5) totally integrating itself with the peasants.

Hold high this good name of the Party and dedicate ourselves fully to the cause of our people and the cause of Communism.

* * *

Dear Comrades!

I have now reached the end of this Political Report.

We have made a review, made an appraisal and established our new tasks in domestic and foreign political affairs as well as in the field of building the Party. We have also discussed a number of problems of the international Communist movement and fixed our new tasks.

For the implementation of the new tasks, we must continuously set afire the *banteng* spirit among the people and the members of the Party, the spirit of standing on our own two feet, of being confident in our own strength, and of daring, daring, and once again, daring. We must be inspired by the resolve, "ever forward, no retreat" in the implementation of all tasks.

With this spirit and resolve we advance for consistent land reform, to crush "Malaysia" and for a Gotong Royong Cabinet with Nasakom as the core.

With this spirit and resolve we advance to smash imperialism and revisionism.

With this spirit and resolve we advance to consolidate the integration of the Marxist-Leninist CPI with the peasants.

We call upon all members and cadres of the Party to go on steeling themselves, to make themselves Party cadres who are *skilful, daring* and *cultured*!

Ever forward, in the spirit of the Five Mores: more daring, more skilful, more vigilant, more resolute and more painstaking!

Ever forward, holding high the banner of our Three Goods: good in work, good in study and good in morals.

Set afire the *banteng* spirit! Ever forward, no retreat!

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